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THE  
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**FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS;**

THE LEARNED AND AUTHENTIC  
JEWISH HISTORIAN,

AND  
CELEBRATED WARRIOR.

TO WHICH ARE PREFIXED,  
THREE DISSERTATIONS,

TRANSLATED BY  
WILLIAM WHISTON, A. M.

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## BOOK V.—CONTINUED.

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### CHAP. IV.

#### The description of Jerusalem.

§ 1. THE city of Jerusalem was fortified with three walls, on such parts as were not encompassed with unpassable valleys; for in such places it had but one wall. The city was built upon two hills, which are opposite to one another, and have a valley to divide them asunder, at which valley the corresponding rows of houses on both hills end. Of these hills, that which contains the upper city is much higher, and in length more direct, Accordingly it was called the *Citadel*, by king David; he was the father of that Solomon who built this temple at the first; but it is by us called the *Upper Market-place*. But the other hill, which was called *Acra*, and sustains the lower city, is of the shape of a moon when she is horned; over against this there was a third hill, but naturally lower than *Acra*, and parted formerly from the other by a broad valley. However, in those times when the Asamoneans reigned, they filled up that valley with earth, and had a mind to join the city to the temple. They then took off part of the height of *Acra*, and reduced it to be of less elevation than it was before, that the temple might be superior to it. Now the valley of the cheesemongers, as it was called, and was that which we told you before distinguished the hill of the upper city from that of the lower, extended as far as *Siloam*; for that is the name of a fountain which hath sweet water in it, and this in great plenty also. But on the outsides, these hills are surrounded by deep valleys, and by reason of the precipices to them belonging on both sides, they are every where unpassable.

2. Now of these three walls, the old one was hard to be taken, both by reason of the valleys, and of that hill on which it was built, and which was above them. But besides that great advantage, as to the place where they were situated, it was also built very strong; because David and Solomon, and the following kings, were very zealous about this work. Now that wall began on the north, at the tower called *Hippicus*, and extended as far as the *Xistus*, a place so called, and then joining to the council-house, ended at the west cloister of the temple. But if we go the other way westward, it began at the same place, and extended through a place called *Bethso*, to the gate of the Essens; and after that it went southward, having its bending above the fountain Siloam, where it also bends again towards the east at Solomon's pool, and reaches as far as a certain place which they called *Ophlas*, where it was joined to the eastern cloister of the temple. The second wall took its beginning from that gate which they called *Gennath*, which belonged to the first wall; it only encompassed the northern quarter of the city, and reached as far as the tower Antonia. The beginning of the third wall was at the tower Hippicus, whence it reached as far as the north quarter of the city, and the tower Psephicus, and then was so far extended till it came over against the monuments of Helena, which Helena, was queen of Adiabene, the daughter of Izates; it then extended farther to a great length, and passed by the sepulchral caverns of the kings, and bent again at the tower of the corner, at the monument which is called the *Monument of the Fuller*, and joined to the old wall, at the valley called the *Valley of Cedron*. It was Agrippa who encompassed the parts added to the old city with this wall, which had been all naked before; for as the city grew more populous, it gradually crept beyond its old limits, and those parts of it that stood northward of the temple, and joined that hill to the city, and made it considerably larger, and occasioned that hill, which is in number the fourth, and is called *Bazetha*, to be inhabited also. It lies over against the tower Antonia, but is divided from it by a deep valley which was dug on purpose, and that in order to hinder the foundations of the tower of Antonia from joining to this hill, and thereby affording an opportunity for getting to it with ease, and hindering the security that arose from its superior elevation, for which reason also that depth of the ditch

made the elevation of the towers more remarkable. This new built part of the city was calld *Bezetha*, in our language, which, if interpreted in the Grecian language, may be called *the New City*. Since therefore its inhabitants stood in need of a covering; the father of the present king, and of the same name with him, Agrippa, began that wall we spoke of; but he left off building it when he had only laid the foundations, out of the fear he was in of Claudius Cæsar, lest he should suspect that so strong a wall was built in order to make some innovation in public affairs; for the city could no way have been taken, if that wall had been finished in the manner it was begun: as its parts were connected together by stones twenty cubits long, and ten cubits broad, which could neither have been either easily undermined by any iron tools, or shaken by any engines. The wall was however ten cubits wide, and it would probably have had an height greater than that, had not his zeal who began it been hindered from exerting itself. After this, it was erected with great diligence by the Jews, as high as twenty cubits, above which it hath battlements of two cubits, and turrets of three cubits altitude insomuch that the entire altitude extended as far as twenty-five cubits.

3. Now the towers that were upon it were twenty cubits in breadth, and twenty cubits in height; they were square and solid as was the wall itself, wherein the niceness of the joints, and the beauty of the stones were no way inferior to those of the holy house itself. Above this solid altitude of the towers, which was twenty cubits, there were rooms of great magnificence, and over them upper rooms, and cisterns to receive rain water. They were many in number, and the steps by which you ascended up to them were every one broad: of these towers then the third wall had ninety, and the spaces between them were each two hundred cubits; but in the middle wall were forty towers, and the old wall was parted into sixty, while the whole compass of the city was thirty-three furlongs. Now the third wall was all of it wonderful; yet was the tower Psephinus elevated above it at the north-west corner, and there Titus pitched his own tent: for, being seventy cubits high, it both afforded a prospect of Arabia, and sun-rising, as well as it did of the utmost limits of the Hebrew possessions at the sea westward. Moreover, it was an octagon, and over against it was the tower Hippicus, and hard by it two others were erected by



King Herod, in the old wall.—These were for largeness, beauty, and strength; beyond all that were in the habitable earth; for, besides the magnanimity of his nature, and his magnificence towards the city on other occasions, he built these after such an extraordinary manner, to gratify his own private affections, and dedicated these towers to the memory of those three persons who had been the dearest to him, and from whom he named them. They were his brother, his friend, and his wife. This wife he had slain, out of his love, [and jealousy,] as we have already related; the other two he lost in war, as they were courageously fighting. Hippicus, so named from his friend, was square, its length and breadth were each twenty-five cubits, and its height thirty, and it had no vacuity in it. Over this solid building, which was composed of great stones united together, there was a reservoir twenty-five cubits deep; over which there was an house of two storeys, whose height was twenty-five cubits, and divided into several parts; over which were battlements of two cubits, and turrets all round of three cubits high, insomuch that the entire height added together amounted to fourscore cubits. The second tower, which he named from his brother Phasaelus, had its breadth and its height equal, each of them forty cubits, over which was its solid height of forty cubits; over which a cloister went round about, whose height was ten cubits, and it was covered from enemies by breast-works and bulwarks. Their was also built over that cloister another tower, parted into magnificent rooms, and a place for bathing; so that this tower wanted nothing that might make it appear to be a royal palace. It was also adorned with battlements and turrets, more than was the foregoing, and the entire altitude was about ninety cubits: the appearance of it resembled the tower of Pharus, which exhibited a fire to such as sailed to Alexandria, but was much larger than it in compass. This was now converted to an house, wherein Simon exercised his tyrannical authority. The third tower was Mariamne, for that was his queen's name: it was solid as high as twenty cubits: its breadth and its length were twenty cubits, and were equal to each other: its upper buildings were more magnificent, and had greater variety than the other towers had: for the king thought it most proper for him to adorn that which was denominated from his wife, better than those denominated from men, as those were

built stronger than this that bore his wife's name. The entire height of this tower was fifty cubits.

4. Now, as these towers were so very tall, they appeared much taller by the place on which they stood; for that very old wall wherein they were, was built on an high hill, and was itself a kind of elevation that was still thirty cubits taller: over which were the towers situated, and thereby were made much higher to appearance. The largeness also of the stones was wonderful; for they were not made of common small stones, nor of such larger ones only as men could carry, but they were of white marble, cut out of the rock; each stone was twenty cubits in length, and ten in breadth, and five in depth. They were so exactly united to one another, that each tower looked like one entire rock of stone, so growing naturally, and afterwards cut by the hands of the artificers into their present shape and corners; so little, or not at all, did their joints or connexion appear. Now as these towers were themselves on the north side of the wall, the king had a palace inwardly thereto adjoined, which exceeds all my ability to describe it; for it was so very curious as to want no cost nor skill in its construction, but was entirely walled about to the height of thirty cubits, and was adorned with towers at equal distances, and with large bed-chambers, that would contain beds for an hundred guests a-piece, in which the variety of the stones is not to be expressed; for a large quantity of those that were rare of that kind was collected together. Their roofs were also wonderful, both for the length of the beams, and the splendour of their ornaments. The number of the rooms was also very great, and the variety of the figures that were about them was prodigious; their furniture was complete, and the greatest part of the vessels that were put in them were of silver and gold. There were besides many porticoes, one beyond another, round about, and in each of those porticoes curious pillars; yet were all the courts that were exposed to the air every where green. There were moreover several groves of trees, and long walks through them, with deep canals and cisterns, that in several parts were filled with brazen statues, through which the water ran out. There was withal many dove-courts \* of tame pigeons about the canals. But indeed it

\* These dove-courts in Josephus, built by Herod the Great, are, in the opinion of Beland, the very same that are mentioned by the Talmudists,

is not possible to give a complete description of these places; and the very remembrance of them is a torment to one, as putting one in mind what vastly rich buildings that fire which was kindled by the robbers hath consumed: for these were not burnt by the Romans, but by these internal plotters, as we have already related, in the beginning of their rebellion. That fire began at the tower of Antonia, and went on to the palaces, and consumed the upper parts of the three towers themselves.



## CHAP. V.

### A description of the Temple.

§ 1. Now this temple, as I have already said, was built upon a strong hill. At first the plain at the top was hardly sufficient for the holy house and the altar, for the ground about it was very uneven, and like a precipice; but when king Solomon, who was the person that built the temple, and built a wall to it, on its east side, there was then added one cloister founded on a bank cast up for it, and on the other parts the holy house stood naked. But in future ages the people † added new banks, and the hill became a larger plain. They then broke down the wall on the north side, and took in as much as sufficed afterward for the compass of the entire temple. And when they had built walls on three sides of the temple round about, from the bottom of the hill, and had performed a work that was greater than could be hoped for, (in which work long ages

and named by them, *Herod's dove-courts*. Nor is there any reason to suppose otherwise, since in both accounts they were expressly tame pigeons which were kept in them.

† See the description of the temples hereto belonging, chap. xv. But note, that what Josephus here says of the original scantiness of this mount Moriah, that it was quite too little for the temple, and that at first it held only one cloister, or court of Solomon's building, and that the foundations, were forced to be added long afterwards by degrees, to render it capable of the cloisters for the other courts, &c. is without all foundation in the scriptures, and not at all confirmed by his exacter account in the Antiquities. All that is, or can be true here, is this, that when the court of the Gentiles was long afterward to be encompassed with cloisters, the southern foundation for these cloisters was found not to be large or firm enough, and was raised, and that additional foundation supported by great pillars and arches under ground, which Josephus speaks of elsewhere, Antiq. B. xv. ch. xi. § 8 vol. iv. and which Mr. Maundrell saw, and describes, p. 100, as extant under ground at this day.

were spent by them, as well as all their sacred treasures were exhausted, which were still replenished by those tributes which were sent to God from the whole habitable earth); they then encompassed their upper-courts with cloisters, as well as they [afterward] did the lowest [court of the] temple. The lowest part of this was erected to the height of three hundred cubits, and in some places more; yet did not the entire depth of the foundations appear, for they brought earth, and filled up the vallies, as being desirous to make them on a level with the narrow streets of the city; wherein they made use of stones of forty cubits in magnitude. For the great plenty of money they then had, and the liberality of the people, made this attempt of theirs to succeed to an incredible degree. And what could not be so much as hoped for as ever to be accomplished, was, by perseverance and length of time, brought to perfection.

2. Now for the works that were above these foundations, these were not unworthy of such foundations; for all the cloisters were double, and the pillars to them belonging were twenty-five cubits in height, and supported the cloisters. These pillars were of one entire stone each of them, and that stone was white marble; and the roofs were adorned with cedar, curiously graven. The natural magnificence, and excellent polish, and the harmony of the joints in these cloisters, afforded a prospect that was very remarkable; nor was it on the outside adorned with any work of the painter, or engraver. The cloisters [of the outmost court] were in breadth thirty cubits, while the entire compass of it was by measure six furlongs, including the tower of Antonia; those entire courts that were exposed to the air were laid with stones of all sorts. When you go through these [first] cloisters unto the second [court of the] temple, there was a partition, made of stone all round, whose height was three cubits; its construction was very elegant; upon it stood pillars, at equal distances from one another, declaring the law of purity, some in Greek, and some in Roman letters, That *no foreigner should go within that sanctuary*; for that second [court of the] temple was called the *Sanctuary*, and was ascended to by fourteen steps from the first court. This court was four-square, and had a wall about it peculiar to itself; the height of its buildings, al-

though it were \* on the outside forty cubits, was hidden by the steps, and on the inside that height was but twenty-five cubits; for it being built over against an higher part of the hill with steps, it was no farther to be entirely discerned within, being covered by the hill itself. Beyond these fourteen steps there was the distance of ten cubits: this was all plain: whence there were other steps, each of five cubits a-piece, that led to the gates, which gates on the north and south sides were eight, on each of those sides four, and of necessity two on the east. For since there was a partition built for the women on that side, as the proper place wherein they were to worship, there was a necessity of a second gate for them; this gate was cut out of its wall over against the first gate. There was also on the other sides one southern and one northern gate, through which was a passage into the court of the women: for, as to the other gates, the women were not allowed to pass through them; nor when they went through their own gate could they go beyond their own wall. This place was allotted to the women of our own country, and of other countries, provided they were of the same nation, and that equally: the western part of this court had no gate at all, but the wall was built entire on that side. But then the cloisters which were betwixt the gates, extended from the wall inward before the chambers; for they were supported by very fine and large pillars. These cloisters were single, and, excepting their magnitude, were no way inferior to those of the lower court.

3. Now nine of these gates were on every side covered over with gold and silver, as were the jambs of their doors and their lintels: but there was one gate that was without [the inward court of] the holy house, which was of Corinthian brass, and greatly excelled those that were only cov-

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\* What Josephus seems here to mean is this, that these pillars supporting the cloisters in the second court, had their foundations or lowest parts as deep as the floor of the first or lowest court, but that so far of those lowest parts as were equal to the alleviation of the upper floor above the lowest, were, and must be, hidden on the inside by the ground or rock itself, on which that upper court was built; so that 40 cubits visible below were reduced to 25 visible above, and implies the difference of their heights to be 15 cubits. The main difficulty lies here, how 14 or 15 steps should give an ascent of 15 cubits, half a cubit seeming sufficient for a single step. Possibly there were 14 or 15 steps at the partition wall, and 14 or 15 more thence into the court itself, which would bring the whole near to the just proportion. See § 3. *infra*. But I determine nothing.

ored over with silver and gold. Each gate had two doors, whose height was severally thirty cubits, and their breadth fifteen. However, they had large spaces within of thirty cubits, and had on each side-rooms, and those, both in breadth and in length, built like towers, and their height was above forty cubits. Two pillars did also support these rooms, and were in circumference twelve cubits. Now the magnitudes of the other gates were equal one to another; but that over the Corinthian gate, which opened on the east over-against the gate of the holy house itself, was much larger; for its height was fifty cubits, and its doors were forty cubits; and it was adorned after a most costly manner, as having much richer and thicker plates of silver and gold upon them than the other. These nine gates had that silver and gold poured upon them by Alexander, the father of Tiberius. Now there were fifteen steps, which led from the wall of the court of the women to this greater gate; whereas those that led thither from the other gates were five steps shorter.

4. As to the holy house itself, which was placed in the midst [of the inmost court], that most sacred part of the temple, it was ascended to by twelve steps; and, in front, its height and its breadth were equal, and each an hundred cubits, though it was behind forty cubits narrower; for on its front it had what may be styled shoulders on each side, that passed twenty cubits farther. Its first gate was seventy cubits high, and twenty-five cubits broad: but this gate had no doors; for it represented the universal visibility of heaven, and that it cannot be excluded from any place. Its front was covered with gold all over, and through it the first part of the house, that was more inward, did all of it appear; which as it was very large, so did all the parts about the more inward gate appear to shine to those that saw them: but then, as the entire house was divided into two parts within, it was only the first part of it that was open to our view. Its height extended all along to ninety cubits in height, and its length was fifty cubits, and its breadth twenty. But that gate, which was at this end of the first part of the house, was, as we have already observed, all over covered with gold, as was its whole wall about it: it had also golden vines above it, from which clusters of grapes hung as tall as a man's height. But then this house, as it was divided into two parts, the

inner part was lower than the appearance of the outer, and had golden doors of fifty-five cubits altitude, and sixteen in breadth; but before these doors there was a veil of equal largeness with the doors. It was a Babylonian curtain, embroidered with blue, and fine linen, and scarlet, and purple, and of a contexture that was truly wonderful. Nor was this mixture of colours without its mystical interpretation, but was a kind of image of the universe; for, by the scarlet there seemed to be enigmatically signified fire, by the fine flax the earth, by the blue the air, and by the purple the sea; two of them having their colours the foundation of this resemblance; but the fine flax and the purple have their own origin for that foundation, the earth producing the one, and the sea the other. This curtain had also embroidered upon it all that was mystical in the heavens, excepting that of the [twelve] signs, representing living creatures.

5. When any persons entered into the temple, its floor received them. This part of the temple, therefore, was in height sixty cubits, and its length the same; whereas its breadth was but twenty cubits: but still that sixty cubits in length was divided again, and the first part of it was cut off at forty cubits, and had in it three things that were very wonderful and famous among all mankind, the candlestick, the table [of shew bread,] and the altar of incense. Now, the seven lamps signified the seven planets; for so many there were springing out of the candlestick. Now, the twelve loaves that were upon the table, signified the circle of the zodiac and the year; but the altar of incense, by its thirteen kinds of sweet smelling spices, with which the sea replenished it, signified, that God is the possessor of all things that are both in the uninhabitable and habitable parts of the earth, and that they are all to be dedicated to his use. But the inmost part of the temple of all was of twenty cubits. This was also separated from the outer part by a veil. In this there was nothing at all. It was inaccessible and inviolable, and not to be seen by any: and was called the *Holy of Holies*. Now, about the sides of the lower part of the temple there were little houses, with passages out of one into another: there were a great many of them, and they were of three storeys high: there were also entrances on each side into them from the gate of the temple. But the superior part of the temple had no such

little houses any farther because the temple was there narrower and forty cubits higher, and of a smaller body than the lower parts of it. Thus we collect that the whole height, including the sixty cubits from the floor, amounted to an hundred cubits.

6. Now, the outward face of the temple, in its front, wanted nothing that was likely to surprise either men's minds or their eyes; for it was covered all over with plates of gold of great weight, and, at the first rising of the sun, reflected back a very fiery splendour, and made those, who forced themselves to look upon it, to turn their eyes away, just as they would have done at the sun's own rays. But this temple appeared to strangers, when they were coming to it at a distance, like a mountain covered with snow; for, as to those parts of it that were not gilt, they were exceedingly white. On its top it had spikes with sharp points, to prevent any pollution of it by birds sitting upon it. Of its stones, some of them were forty-five cubits in length, five in height, and six in breadth. Before this temple stood the altar, fifteen cubits high, and equal both in length and breadth; each of which dimensions was fifty cubits. The figure it was built in was a square, and it had corners like horns; and the passage up to it was by an insensible acclivity. It was formed without any iron tool, nor did any such iron tool so much as touch it at any time. There was also a wall of petitions, about a cubit in height, made of fine stones, and so as to be grateful to the sight; this encompassed the holy house and the altar, and kept the people that were on the outside off from the priests. Moreover, those that had the gonorrhea and the leprosy were excluded out of the city entirely: women also, when their courses were upon them, were shut out of the temple; nor, when they were free from that impurity, were they allowed to go beyond the limit before mentioned: men also, that were not thoroughly pure, were prohibited to come into the inner [court of the] temple; nay, the priests themselves that were not pure, were prohibited to come into it also.

7. Now all those of the stock of the priests that could not minister by reason of some defect in their bodies, came within the partition, together with those that had no such imperfection, and had their share with them by reason of their stock, but still made use of none except their own



private garments ; for nobody but he that officiated had on his sacred garments : but then those priests that were without any blemish upon them, went up to the altar clothed in fine linen. They abstained chiefly from wine out of this fear, lest otherwise they should transgress some rules of their ministration. The high-priest did also go up with them ; not always indeed, but on the seventh days and new moons, and if any festivals belonging to our nation, which we celebrate every year, happened.—When he officiated, he had on a pair of breeches that reached beneath his privy parts to his thighs, and had on an inner garment of linen, together with a blue garment round without seam, with fringe-work, and reaching to the feet. There were also golden bells that hung upon the fringes, and pomegranates intermixed among them. The bells signified thunder, and the pomegranates lightning. But that girdle that tied the garment to the breast, was embroidered with five rows of various colours, of gold, and purple, and scarlet, as also of fine linen and blue, with which colours, we told you before, the veils of the temple were embroidered also. The like embroidery was upon the ephod ; but the quantity of gold therein was greater. Its figure was that of a stomacher for the breast. There were upon it two golden buttons like small shields, which buttoned the ephod to the garment : in these buttons were inclosed two very large and very excellent sardonyxes, having the names of the tribes of that nation engraved upon them : on the other part there hung twelve stones, three in a row one way, and four in the other ; a sardious, a topaz, and an emerald ; a carbuncle, a jasper, and a sapphire ; an agate, an amethyst, and a ligure ; an onyx, a beryl, and a chrysolite ; upon every one of which was again engraved one of the forementioned names of the tribes. A mitre also of fine linen encompassed his head, which was tied by a blue ribband, about which there was another golden crown, in which was engraven the sacred name [of God] : it consists of four vowels. However, the high-priest did not wear these garments at other times, but a more plain habit ; he only did it when he went into the most sacred part of the temple, which he did but once in a year, on that day when our custom is for all of us to keep a fast to God. And thus much concerning the city and the temple ; but, for the customs and laws hereto relating we shall speak more accurately another time ; for there remain a great many

things thereto relating, which have not been here touched upon.

8. Now, as to the tower of Antonia, it was situated at the corner of two cloisters of the court of the temple, of that on the west and that on the north : it was erected upon a rock of fifty cubits in height, and was on a great precipice ; it was the work of King Herod, wherein he demonstrated his natural magnanimity. In the first place, the rock itself was covered over with smooth pieces of stone, from its foundation, both for ornament, and that any one, who could either try to get up, or to go down it, might not be able to hold his feet upon it. Next to this, and before you come to the edifice of the tower itself there was a wall three cubits high ; but within that wall all the space of the tower of Antonia itself was built upon, to the height of forty cubits. The inward parts had the largeness and form of a palace, it being parted into all kinds of rooms and other conveniencies, such as courts and places for bathing, and broad spaces for camps ; insomuch that, by having all conveniencies that cities wanted, it might seem to be composed of several cities, but by its magnificence it seemed a palace ; and as the entire structure resembled that of a tower, it contained also four other distinct towers at its four corners ; whereof the others were but fifty cubits high, whereas that which lay upon the south east corner was seventy cubits high, that from thence the whole temple might be viewed : but on the corner, where it joined to the two cloisters of the temple, it had passages down to them both, through which the guards (for there always lay in this tower a Roman legion) went several ways among the cloisters, with their arms, on the Jewish festivals, in order to watch the people, that they might not there attempt to make any innovations ; for the temple was a fortress that guarded the city, as was the tower of Antonia a guard to the temple ; and in that tower were the guards \* of those three. There was a peculiar fortress belonging to the upper city, which was Herod's palace ; but, for the hill Bezetha, it was divided from the tower of Antonia, as we have already told you ; and as that hill on which the tower of Antonia stood was the highest of these three, so did it adjoin to the new city, and was the only place that hindered the sight of the temple on the

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\* Those three guards that lay in the tower of Antonia must be those that guarded the city, the temple, and the tower of Antonia.

north. And this shall suffice at present to have spoken about the city, and the walls about it, because I have purposed to myself to make a more accurate description of it elsewhere.

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## CHAP. VI.

Concerning the tyrants Simon and Judas. How also, as Titus was going round the wall of the city, Nicanor was wounded by a dart ; which accident provoked Titus to press on the siege.

§ 1. Now the warlike men that were in the city, and the multitude of the seditious that were with Simon, were ten thousand besides the Idumeans. Those ten thousand had fifty commanders, over whom this Simon was supreme. The Idumeans that paid him homage were five thousand, and had eight commanders, among whom those of the greatest fame were Jacob the son of Sosas, and Simon the son of Cathlas. John, who had seized upon the temple had six thousand armed men under twenty commanders: the Zealots also that had come over to him, and left off their opposition, were two thousand four hundred, and had the same commander that they had formerly, Eleazar, together with Simon, the son of Arinus. Now, while these factions fought one against another, the people were their prey on both sides, as we have said already ; and that part of the people, which would not join with them in their wicked practices, were plundered by both factions. Simon held the upper city, and the great wall as far as Cedron, and as much of the old wall as bent from Siloam to the east and which went down to the palace of Monobazus, who was king of the Adiabeni beyond Euphrates, he also held that fountain, and the Acra, which was no other than the lower city. He also held all that reached to the palace of Queen Helena, the mother of Monobazus. But John held the temple, and the parts thereto adjoining for a great way, as also Ophla, and the valley called *the Valley of Cedron*: and when the parts that were interposed between their possessions were burnt by them, they left a space wherein they might fight with each other: for this internal sedition did not cease, even when the Romans were encamped near their very walls. But, although they had grown wiser at

the first onset the Romans made upon them, this lasted but a while; for they returned to their former madness, and separated one from another, and fought it out, and did every thing that the besiegers could desire them to do; for they never suffered any thing that was worse from the Romans, than they made each other suffer; nor was there any misery endured by the city, after these men's actions, that could be esteemed new. But it was most of all unhappy before it was overthrown, while those that took it did it a great kindness; for I venture to affirm, that the sedition destroyed the city, and the Romans destroyed the sedition; which it was a much harder thing to do, than to destroy the walls; so that we must justly ascribe our misfortunes to our own people, and the just vengeance taken on them to the Romans; as to which matter, let every one determine by the actions on both sides.

2. Now, when affairs within the city were in this posture, Titus went round the city on the outside with some chosen horsemen, and looked about for a proper place where he might make an impression upon the walls; but as he was in doubt where he could possibly make an attack on any side, (for the place was no way accessible where the valleys were, and on the other side, the first wall appeared too strong to be shaken by the engines;) he thereupon thought it best to make an assault upon the monument of John the high priest; for there it was, that the first fortification was lower, and the second was not joined to it, the builders neglecting to build the wall strong where the new city was not much inhabited: here also was an easy passage to the third wall through which he thought to take the upper city, and, through the tower of Antonia, the temple itself. But at this time, as he was going round about the city, one of his friends, whose name was *Nicanor*, was wounded with a dart on his left shoulder, as he approached, together with Josephus, too near the wall, and attempted to discourse to those that were upon the wall about terms of peace; for he was a person known by them. On this account it was that Cæsar, as soon as he knew their vehemence, that they would not bear even such as approached them to persuade them to what tended to their own preservation, was provoked to press on the siege. He also, at the same time, gave his soldiers leave to set the suburbs on fire, and ordered that they should bring timber

together, and raise banks against the city ; and, when he had parted his army into three parts, in order to set about those works, he placed those that shot darts, and the archers, in the midst of the banks that were then raising ; before whom he placed those engines that threw javelins and darts, and stones that he might prevent the enemy from sallying out upon their works, and might hinder those that were upon the wall from being able to obstruct them. So the trees were now cut down immediately, and the suburbs left naked. But now, while the timber was carrying to raise the banks and the whole army was earnestly engaged in their works, the Jews were not, however, quiet ; and it happened that the people of Jerusalem, who had been hitherto plundered and murdered, were now of good courage, and supposed they should have a breathing time, while the others were very busy in opposing their enemies without the city, and that they should now be avenged on those that had been the authors of their miseries, in case the Romans did but get the victory.

3. However, John staid behind out of his fear of Simon, even while his own men were earnest in making a sally upon their enemies without. Yet did not Simon lie still, for he lay near the place of the siege: He brought his engines of war, and disposed of them at due distances upon the wall ; both those which they took from Cestius formerly, and those which they got when they seized the garrison that lay in the tower Antonia. But, though they had these engines in their possession, they had so little skill in using them, that they were in great measure useless to them ; but a few there were who had been taught by deserters how to use them, which they did use though after an awkward manner. So they cast stones and arrows at those that were making the banks : they also ran out upon them by, companies, and fought with them. Now, those that were at work, covered themselves with hurdles spread over their banks, and their engines were opposed to them when they made their excursions. These engines, that all the legions had ready prepared for them, were admirably contrived ; but still more extraordinary ones belonged to the tenth legion : those that threw darts and those that threw stones were more forcible, and larger than the rest, by which they not only repelled the excursions of the Jews, but drove those away that were upon the walls also. Now, the stones that were

cast were of the weight of a talent, and were carried two furlongs and farther. The blow they gave was no way to be sustained, not only by those that stood first in the way, but by those that were beyond them for a great space. As for the Jews, they at first watched the coming of the stone; for it was of a white colour, and could therefore not only be perceived by the great noise it made, but could be seen also before it came by its brightness: accordingly the watchmen that sat upon the towers gave them notice when the engine was let go, and the stone came from it, and cried out aloud in their own country language, **THE SON COMETH.\*** so those that were in its way stood off, and threw themselves down upon the ground; by which means, and by their thus guarding themselves the stone fell down, and did them no harm. But the Romans contrived how to prevent that by blacking the stone, who then could aim at them with success, when the stone was not discerned before-hand as it had been till then; and so they destroyed many of them at one blow. Yet did not the Jews, under all this distress, permit the Romans to raise their banks in

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\* What should be the meaning of this signal or watchword, when the watchmen saw a stone coming from an engine, **THE SON COMETH**, or what mistake there is in the reading, I cannot tell. The MSS. both Greek and Latin, all agree in this reading; and I cannot approve of any groundless conjectural alteration in the text from **ΤΙΟΣ** to **ΙΟΣ**, that not the *son* or a *stone*, but that the *arrow* or *dart cometh*; as hath been made by Dr. Hudson, and not corrected by Havercamp. Had Josephus written even his first edition of these books of the war in pure Hebrew, or had the Jews then used the pure Hebrew at Jerusalem, the Hebrew word for a *son* is so like that for a *stone*, *Ben* and *Eben*, that such a correction might have been more easily admitted, but Josephus wrote his former edition for the use of the Jews beyond Euphrates, and so in the Chaldea language, as he did this second edition in the Greek language; and *Bar* was the Chaldea word for son, instead of the Hebrew *Ben*, and was used not only in Chaldea, &c. but in Judea also, as the New Testament informs us. Dio also lets us know, that the very Romans at Rome pronounced the name of Simon, the son of Gioras, *Bar Poras* for *Bar Gioras*, as we learn from Xiphiline, p. 217. Reland takes notice, "That many will here look for a mystery, as though the meaning were, that the *Son of God* came now to take vengeance on the sins of the Jewish nation," which is indeed the truth of the fact, but hardly what the Jews could now mean: unless, possibly by way of derision of Christ's threatenings so often made, that he would *come* at the head of the Roman army for their destruction. But even this interpretation has but a very small degree of probability. If I were to make an emendation, by mere conjecture, I would read **ΠΕΤΡΟΣ** instead of **ΤΙΟΣ** though the likeness be not so great as in **ΙΟΣ**; because that is the word used by Josephus just before, as I have already noted, on this very occasion, while **ΙΟΣ**, an *arrow* or *dart*, is only a poetical word, and never used by Josephus elsewhere, and is indeed no way suitable to the occasion, this engine not throwing arrows or darts, but great stones at this time.

quiet; but they shrewdly and boldly exerted themselves, and repelled them both by night and by day.

4. And now, upon the finishing the Roman works, the workmen measured the distance there was from the wall, and this by lead and a line, which they threw to it from their banks; for they could not measure it any otherwise, because the Jews would shoot at them, if they came to measure it themselves, and when they found that the engines could reach the wall, they brought them thither. Then did, Titus set his engines at proper distances, so much nearer to the wall, that the Jews might not be able to repel them, and gave orders they should go to work; and when thereupon a prodigious noise echoed round about from three places, and that, on the sudden, there was a great noise made by the citizens that were within the city and no less a terror fell upon the seditious themselves; whereupon both sorts seeing the common danger they were in, contrived to make a like defence. So those of different factions cried out one to another, that they acted entirely as in concert with their enemies; whereas, they ought however, notwithstanding God did not grant them a lasting concord, in the present circumstances to lay aside their enmities one against another, and to unite together against the Romans. Accordingly, Simon gave those that came from the temple leave, by proclamation, to go upon the wall; John also himself, though he could not believe that Simon was in earnest gave them the same leave. So on both sides, they laid aside their hatred, and their peculiar quarrels, and formed themselves into one body; they then ran round the walls, and having a vast number of torches with them, they threw them at the machines, and shot darts perpetually upon those that impelled those engines which battered the wall; nay, the bolder sort leaped out by troops upon the hurdles that covered the machines, and pulled them to pieces, and fell upon those that belonged to them, and beat them, not so much by any skill they had, as principally by the boldness of their attacks. However, Titus himself still sent assistance to those that were the hardest set, and placed both horsemen and archers on the several sides of the engines, and thereby beat off those that brought the fire to them; he also thereby repelled those that shot stones or darts from the towers, and then set the engines to work in good earnest: yet did not the wall yield

to these blows, excepting where the battering ram of the fifteenth legion moved the corner of a tower, while the wall itself continued unhurt ; for the wall was not presently in the same danger with the tower, which was extant far above it : nor could the fall of that part of the tower easily break down any part of the wall itself together with it.

5. And now the Jews intermitted their sallies for a while ; but when they observed the Romans dispersed all abroad at their works, and in their several camps (for they thought the Jews had retired out of weariness and fear), these all at once made a sally at the tower Hippicus, through an obscure gate, and at the same time brought fire to burn the works, and went boldly up to the Romans, and to their very fortifications themselves, where at the cry they made, those that were near came presently to their assistance, and those farther off came running after them ; and here the boldness of the Jews was too hard for the good order of the Romans ; and as they beat those whom they first fell upon, so they pressed upon those that were now gotten together. So this fight about the machines was very hot, while the one side tried hard to set them on fire, and the other side to prevent it ; on both sides there was a confused cry made, and many of those in the fore-front of the battle were slain. However, the Jews were now too hard for the Romans, by the furious assaults they made, like mad-men ; and the fire caught hold of the works, and both all those works, and the engines themselves had been in danger of being burnt, had not many of those select soldiers that came from Alexandria opposed themselves to prevent it ; and had they not behaved themselves with greater courage than they themselves supposed they could have done ; for they out did those in this fight that had greater reputation than themselves before. This was the state of things till Cæsar took the stoutest of his horsemen, and attacked the enemy, when he himself slew twelve of those that were in the fore front of the Jews ; which death of these men, when the rest of the multitude saw, they gave way, and he pursued them, and drove them all into the city, and saved the works from the fire. Now, it happened at this fight, that a certain Jew was taken alive, who, by Titus's order, was crucified before the wall, to see whether the rest of them would be affrighted, and abate of their obstinacy. But, after the Jews were retired, John, who was



commander of the Idumeans, and was talking to a certain soldier of his acquaintance before the wall, was wounded by a dart, shot at him by an Arabian, and died immediately, leaving the greatest lamentation to the Jews, and sorrow to the seditious. For he was a man of great eminence, both for his actions, and his conduct also.

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## CHAP. VII.

How one of the towers erected by the Romans fell down of its own accord, and how the Romans, after great slaughter had been made, got possession of the first wall. How also Titus made his assault upon the second wall : as also concerning Longinus the Roman, and Castor the Jew.

§ 1. Now, on the next night, a surprising disturbance fell upon the Romans ; for, whereas Titus had given orders for the erection of three towers, of fifty cubits high, that by setting men upon them at every bank, he might from thence drive those away who were upon the wall, it so happened, that one of these towers fell down about midnight : and as its fall made a very great noise, fear fell upon the army, and they supposing that the enemy was coming to attack them, ran all to their arms. Whereupon a disturbance and a tumult arose among the legions ; and as nobody could tell what had happened, they went on after a disconsolate manner ; and seeing no enemy appeared, they were afraid one of another, and every one demanded of his neighbour the watch-word, with great earnestness, as though the Jews had invaded their camp. And now were they like people under a panic fear, till Titus was informed of what had happened, and gave orders that all should be acquainted with it ; and then, though with some difficulty, they got clear of the disturbance they had been under.

2. Now these towers were very troublesome to the Jews, who otherwise opposed the Romans very courageously ; for they shot at them out of their lighter engines from those towers, as they did also by those that threw darts, and the archers, and those that flung stones. For neither could the Jews reach those that were over them, by reason of their height, and it was not practicable to take them, nor to overturn them, they were so heavy, nor to set them on fire, because they were covered with plates of

iron. So they retired out of the reach of the darts, and did no longer endeavour to hinder the impression of their rams, which, by continually beating upon the wall, did gradually prevail against it; so that the wall already gave way to the *Nico*, for by that name did the Jews themselves call the greatest of their engines, because it *conquered* all things. And, now they were for a long while grown weary of fighting, and of keeping guards, and were retired to lodge on the night-times at a distance from the wall. It was on other accounts also thought by them to be superfluous to guard the wall, there being besides that two other fortifications still remaining, and they being slothful, and their counsels having been ill concerted on all occasions; so a great many grew lazy and retired. Then the Romans mounted the breach, where Nico had made one, and all the Jews left the guarding that wall, and retreated to the second wall, so those that had gotten over that wall, opened the gates, and received all the army within it. And thus did the Romans get possession of this first wall, on the fifteenth day of that siege, which was the seventh day of the month Artemisius, [year,] when they demolished a greater part of it, as well as they did of the northern parts of the city, which had been demolished also by Cestius formerly.

3. And now Titus pitched his camp within the city, at that place which was called the *Camp of the Assyrians*, having seized upon all that lay as far as Cedron, but took care to be out of the reach of the Jews' darts. He then presently began his attacks, upon which the Jews divided themselves into several bodies, and courageously defended that wall, while John, and his faction, did it from the tower of Antonia, and from the northern cloister of the temple, and fought the Romans before the monuments, of king Alexander; and Simon's army also took for their share the spot of ground that was near John's monument, and fortified it as far as to that gate where water was brought into the tower Hippicus. However, the Jews made violent sallies, and that frequently also, and that in bodies together, out of the gates, and there fought the Romans; and when they were pursued altogether to the wall they were beaten in those fights, as wanting the skill of the Romans. But when they fought them from the walls, they were too hard for them; the Romans being encouraged by their power, join-

ed to their skill, as were the Jews by their boldness, which was nourished by the fear they were in, and that hardiness which is natural to our nation under calamities; they were also still encouraged by the hope of deliverance, as were the Romans by their hopes of subduing them in a little time. Nor did either side grow weary; but attacks and fightings upon the wall, and perpetual sallies out in bodies were there all the day long; nor were there any sort of warlike engagements that were not then put in use. And the night itself had much ado to part them, when they began to fight in the morning; nay the night itself was passed without sleep on both sides, and was more uneasy than the day to them, while the one was afraid lest the wall should be taken, and the other lest the Jews should make sallies upon their camps: both sides also lay in their armour during the night time, and thereby were ready at the first appearance of light to go to the battle. Now among the Jews the ambition was, who should undergo the first dangers, and thereby gratify their commanders. Above all, they had a great veneration and dread of Simon; and to that degree was he regarded by every one of those that were under him, that at his command they were very ready to kill themselves with their own hands. What made the Romans so courageous was their usual custom of conquering, and disuse of being defeated, their constant wars, and perpetual warlike exercises, and the grandeur of their dominion. And what was now their chief encouragement, Titus, who was present every where with them all; for it appeared a terrible thing to grow weary while Cæsar was there, and fought bravely, as well as they did, and was himself at once an eye-witness of such as behaved themselves valiantly, and he who was to reward them also. It was besides esteemed an advantage at present to have any one's valour known by Cæsar, on which account many of them appeared to have more alacrity than strength to answer it. And now, as the Jews were about this time standing in array before the wall, and that in a strong body, and while both parties were throwing their darts at each other, Longinus, one of the equestrian order, leaped out of the army of the Romans, and leaped into the very midst of the army of the Jews; and as they dispersed themselves upon this attack, he slew two of their men of the greatest courage; one of them he struck in his mouth as he was coming to meet him,

the other was slain by him by that very dart which he drew out of the body of the other, with which he ran this man through his side as he was running away from him; and when he had done this, he first of all ran out of the midst of his enemies to his own side. So this man signalized himself for his valour, and many there were who were ambitious of gaining the like reputation. And now the Jews were unconcerned at what they suffered themselves from the Romans, and were only solicitous about what mischief they could do them; and death itself seemed a small matter to them, if at the same time they could but kill any one of their enemies. But Titus took care to secure his own soldiers from harm, as well as to have them overcome their enemies. He also said, that inconsiderate violence was madness, and that this alone was the true courage, that was joined with good conduct. He therefore commanded his men to take care, when they fought their enemies, that they received no harm from them at the same time, and thereby shew themselves to be truly valiant men.

4. And now Titus brought one of his engines to the middle tower of the north part of the wall, in which a certain crafty Jew, whose name was Castor, lay in ambush, with ten others like himself, the rest being fled away by reason of the archers. These men lay still for a while, as in great fear, under their breast-plates; but when the tower was shaken, they arose, and Castor did then stretch out his hand, as a petitioner, and called for Cæsar and by his voice moved his compassion, and begged of him to have mercy upon them; and Titus, in the innocence of his heart, believing him to be in earnest, and hoping that the Jews did now repent, stopped the working of the battering ram, and forbade them to shoot at the petitioners, and bid Castor say what he had a mind to say to him. He said, that he would come down, if he would give him his right hand for his security. To which Titus replied, that he was well pleased with such his agreeable conduct, and would be well pleased if all the Jews would be of his mind, and that he was ready to give the like security to the city. Now, five of the ten dissembled with him, and pretended to beg for mercy, while the rest cried out aloud, that they would never be slaves to the Romans, while it was in their power to die in a state of freedom. Now, while these men were quarrelling for a long while, the attack

was delayed ; Castor also sent to Simon, and told him that they might take some time for consultation about what was to be done, because he would delude the power of the Romans for a considerable time. And at the same time that he sent thus to him, he appeared openly to exhort those that were obstinate to accept of Titus's hand for their security ; but they seemed very angry at it, and brandished their naked swords upon the breastworks, and struck themselves upon their breast, and fell down, as if they had been slain. Hereupon Titus, and those with him, were amazed at the courage of the men, and as they were not able to see exactly what was done, they admired at their great fortitude, and pitied their calamity. During this interval, a certain person shot a dart at Castor, and wounded him in his nose, whereupon he presently pulled out the dart and shewed it to Titus and complained that this was unfair treatment : so Cæsar reproved him that shot the dart, and sent Josephus, who then stood by him, to give his right hand to Castor. But Josephus said, that he would not go to him, because these pretended petitioners meant nothing that was good ; he also restrained those friends of his who were zealous to go to him. But still there was one Æneas, a deserter, who said he would go to him. Castor also called to them, that somebody would come and receive the money which he had with him ; this made Æneas the more earnestly to run to him, with his bosom open. Then did Castor take up a great stone and threw it at him, which missed him, because he guarded himself against it but still it wounded another soldier that was coming to him. When Cæsar understood that this was a delusion, he perceived that mercy in war, is a pernicious thing, because such cunning tricks have less place under the exercise of greater severity. So he caused the engine to work more strongly than before, on account of his anger at the deceit put upon him. But Castor and his companions set the tower on fire when it began to give way, and leaped through the flame into an hidden vault that was under it, which made the Romans farther suppose that they were men of great courage, as having cast themselves into the fire.

## CHAP. VIII.

How the Romans took the second wall twice, and got all ready for taking the third wall.

§ 1. Now Cæsar took this wall there, on the fifth day after he had taken the first; and when the Jews had fled from him he entered into it with a thousand armed men and those of his choice troops, and this at a place where were the merchants of wool, the braziers, and the market for cloth, and where the narrow streets led obliquely to the wall. Wherefore if Titus had either demolished a larger part of the wall immediately, or had come in, and according to the law of war, had laid waste what was left, this victory would not, I suppose, have been mixed with any loss to himself. But now out of the hope he had that he should make the Jews ashamed of their obstinacy, by not being willing, when he was able, to afflict them more than he needed to do, he did not widen the breach of the wall, in order to make a safer retreat upon occasion; for he did not think they would lay snares for him that did them such a kindness. When, therefore he came in, he did not permit his soldiers to kill any of those they caught, nor to set fire to their houses neither; nay, he gave leave to the seditious if they had a mind, to fight without any harm to the people, and promised to restore the people's effects to them; for he was very desirous to preserve the city for his own sake, and the temple for the sake of the city. As to the people, he had them of a long time ready to comply with his proposals; but as to the fighting men, this humanity of his seemed a mark of his weakness, and they imagined that he made these proposals because he was not able to take the rest of the city. They also threatened death to the people if they should any one of them say a word about a surrender.—They, moreover, cut the throats of such as talked of a peace, and then attacked those Romans that were come within the wall, some of them they met in the narrow streets, and some they fought against from their houses, while they made a sudden sally out at the upper gates, and assaulted such Romans as were near the wall, till those that guarded the wall were so affrighted, that they leaped down from the towers, and retired to their several camps. Upon which, a great noise was made by the Romans that were within, because they were encompassed

round on every side by their enemies ; as also by them that were without, because they were in fear for those that were left in the city. Thus did the Jews grow more numerous perpetually, and had great advantages over the Romans by their full knowledge of those narrow lanes ; and they wounded a great many of them, and fell upon them, and drove them out of the city. Now these Romans were at present forced to make the best resistance they could for they were not able, in great numbers, to get out at the breach in the wall, it was so narrow. It is also probable, that all those that were gotten within had been cut to pieces, if Titus had not sent them succours ; for he ordered the archers to stand at the upper ends of these narrow lanes, and he stood himself where was the greatest multitude of his enemies, and with his darts he put a stop to them ; as with him did Domitius Sabinus also, a valiant man, and one that in this battle appeared so to be. Thus did Cæsar continue to shoot darts at the Jews continually, and to hinder them from coming upon his men, and this until all his soldiers had retreated out of the city.

2. And thus were the Romans driven out, after they had possessed themselves of the second wall. Whereupon, the fighting men that were in the city were lifted up in their minds, and were elevated upon their good success, and began to think that the Romans would never venture to come into the city any more ; and that, if they kept within it themselves, they should not, be any more conquered. For God had blinded their minds for the transgressions they had been guilty of, nor could they see how much greater forces the Romans had than those that were now expelled, no more than they could discern how a famine was creeping upon them ; for hitherto they had fed themselves out of the public miseries, and drank the blood of the city. But now poverty had for a long time seized upon the better part, and a great many had already died for want of necessaries : although the seditious indeed supposed the destruction of the people to be an easement to themselves ; for they desired that none others might be preserved but such as were against a peace with the Romans, and were resolved to live in opposition to them, and they were pleased when the multitude of those of a contrary opinion were consumed, and being then freed from an heavy burden. And this was their disposition of mind with regard to those

that were within the city, while they covered themselves with their armour, and prevented the Romans, when they were trying to get into the city again, and made a wall of their own bodies over against that part of the wall that was cast down. Thus did they valiantly defend themselves for three days ; but on the fourth day they could not support themselves against the vehement assaults of Titus, but were compelled by force to fly whither they had fled before, so he quietly possessed himself again of that wall, and demolished it entirely. And when he had put a garrison into the towers that were on the south parts of the city, he contrived how he might assault the third wall.

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## CHAP. IX.

Titus, when the Jews were not at all mollified by his leaving off the siege for a while, set himself again to prosecute the same ; but soon sent Josephus to discourse with his own countrymen about peace.

§ 1. A RESOLUTION was now taken by Titus to relax the siege for a little while, and to afford the seditious an interval for consideration, and to see whether the demolishing of their second wall would not make them a little more compliant, or whether they were not somewhat afraid of famine, because the spoils they had gotten by rapine would not be sufficient for them long ; so he made use of this relaxation in order to compass his own designs. Accordingly, as the usual appointed time, when he must distribute subsistence money to the soldiers, was now come, he gave orders that the commanders should put the army in battle array, in the face of the enemy, and then gave every one of the soldiers their pay. So the soldiers, according to custom, opened the cases wherein before their arms lay covered, and marched with their breast plates on, as did the horsemen lead their horses in their fine trappings. Then did the places that were before the city shine very splendidly for a great way ; nor was their any thing either so grateful to Titus's own men, or so terrible to the enemy as that sight. For the whole old wall, and the north side of the temple was full of spectators ; and one might see the houses full of such as looked at them : nor was there any



part of the city which was not covered over with their multitudes: nay, a very great consternation seized upon the hardiest of the Jews themselves, when they saw all the army in the same place together with the fineness of their arms, and the good order of their men. And I cannot but think that the seditious would have changed their minds at the sight, unless the crimes they had committed against the people, had been so horrid, that they despaired of forgiveness from the Romans; but as they believed death with torments must be their punishment, if they did not go on in the defence of the city, they thought it much better to die in war. Fate also prevailed so far over them, that the innocent were to perish with the guilty, and the city was to be destroyed with the seditious that were in it.

2. Thus did the Romans spend four days in bringing this subsistence money to the several legions. But on the fifth day, when no signs of peace appeared to come from the Jews, Titus divided his legions, and began to raise banks, both at the tower of Antonia, and at John's monument. Now his designs were, to take the upper city at that monument, and the temple at the tower of Antonia; for if the temple were not taken, it would be dangerous to keep the city itself: so at each of these parts he raised him banks, each legion raising one. As for those that wrought at John's monument, the Idumeans, and those that were in arms with Simon, made sallies upon them, and put some stop to them: while John's party, and the multitude of zealots with them, did the like to those that were before the tower of Antonia. These Jews were now too hard for the Romans, not only in direct fighting, because they stood upon the higher ground, but because they had now learned to use their own engines; for their continual use of them one day after another, did by degrees improve their skill about them; for of one sort of engines for darts they had three hundred, and forty for stones, by the means of which they made it more tedious for the Romans to raise their banks. But then Titus, knowing that the city would be either saved or destroyed for himself, did not only proceed earnestly in the siege, but did not omit to have the Jews exhorted to repentance; so he mixed good counsel with his own works for the siege. And, being sensible that exhortations are frequently more effectual than arms, he persuaded them to surrender the city, now in a manner

already taken, and thereby to save themselves, and sent Josephus to speak to them in their own language ; for he imagined they might yield to the persuasion of a countryman of their own.

3. So Josephus went round about the wall, and tried to find a place that was out of the reach of their darts, and yet within their hearing, and besought them, in many words, " To spare themselves, to spare their country and their temple, and not to be more obdurate in these cases than foreigners themselves : for that the Romans, who had no relation to those things, had a reverence for their sacred rites and places, although they belonged to their enemies, and had till now kept their hands off from meddling with them, while such as were brought up under them, and if they be preserved will be the only people that will reap the benefit of them, hurry on to have them destroyed.— That certainly they have seen their strongest walls demolished, and that the walls still remaining was weaker than those that were already taken. That they must know the Roman power was invincible, and that they had been used to serve them ; for, that in case it be allowed a right thing to fight for liberty, that ought to have been done at first ; but, for them that have once fallen under the power of the Romans, and have now submitted to them for so many long years, to pretend to shake off that yoke afterward, was the work of such as have a mind to die miserably, not of such as were lovers of liberty. Besides, men may well enough grudge at the dishonour of owning ignoble masters over them, but ought not to do so to those who have all things under their command ; for what part of the world is there that hath escaped the Romans, unless it be such as are of no use for violent heat, or for violent cold ? And evident it is that fortune is on all hands gone over to them ; and that God, when he had gone round the nations with this dominion, is now settled in Italy. That, moreover, it is a strong and a fixed law, even among brute beasts, as well as among men, to yield to those that are too strong for them ; and to suffer those to have the dominion, who are too hard for the rest in war. For which reason it was, that their forefathers, who were far superior to them both in their souls and bodies, and other advantages, did yet submit to the Romans, which they would not have suffered, had they not

"known that God was with them. As for themselves  
 "what can they depend on in this their opposition, when  
 "the greatest part of their city is already taken? and when  
 "those that are within it are under greater miseries than if  
 "the city were taken, although their walls be still standing?  
 "For, that the Romans are not unacquainted with that  
 "famine which is in the city, whereby the people are al-  
 "ready consumed, and the fighting men will in a little time  
 "be so too; for although the Romans should leave off the  
 "siege, and not fall upon the city with their swords in their  
 "hands, yet was there an insuperable war that beset them  
 "within, and was augmented every hour; unless they were  
 "able to wage war with famine, and fight against it; or  
 "could alone conquer their natural appetites." He added  
 this farther, "How right a thing it was to change their  
 "conduct, before their calamities were become incur-  
 "rable, and to have recourse to such advice as might  
 "preserve them, while opportunity was offered them for so  
 "doing. For that the Romans would not be mindful of  
 "their past actions to their disadvantage, unless they pre-  
 "served their insolent behaviour to the end; because they  
 "were naturally mild in their conquests, and preferred  
 "what was profitable, before what their passions dictated  
 "to them; which profit of theirs lay not in leaving the city  
 "empty of inhabitants, nor the country a desert: on which  
 "account, Cæsar did now offer them his right hand for  
 "their security. Whereas, if he took the city by force,  
 "he would not save any of them, and this especially, if  
 "they rejected his offers in these their utmost distresses;  
 "for the walls that were already taken, could not but as-  
 "sure them that the third wall would quickly be taken al-  
 "so. And although their fortifications should prove too  
 "strong for the Romans to break through them, yet would  
 "the famine fight for the Romans against them."

4. While Josephus was making this exhortation to the  
 Jews, many of them jested upon him from the wall, and  
 many reproached him; nay, some threw their darts at  
 him; but when he could not himself persuade them by such  
 open good advice, he betook himself to the histories be-  
 longing to their own nation, and cried out aloud, "O mis-  
 "erable creatures! are you so unmindful of those that used  
 "to assist you, that you will fight by your weapons and  
 "by your hands against the Romans! when did we ever

"couquer any other nation by such means? and when was  
 "it that God, who is the Creator of the Jewish people, did  
 "not avenge them when they had been injured? Will you  
 "not turn again and look back, and consider whence it is  
 "that you fight with such violence, and how great a Sup-  
 "porter you have profanely abused? Will you not recal to  
 "mind the prodigious things done for your forefathers and  
 "this holy place, and how great enemies of yours were by  
 "him subdued under you? I even tremble myself in de-  
 "claring the works of God before your ears that are un-  
 "worthy to hear them: however hearken to me, that you  
 "may be informed how you fight not only against the Ro-  
 "mans but against God himself. In old time there was  
 "one Necao, king of Egypt, who was also called *Pharaoh*;  
 "he came with a prodigious army of soldiers, and seized  
 "Queen Sarah, the mother of our nation. What did  
 "Abraham our progenitor then do? Did he defend himself  
 "from this injurious person by war, although he had three  
 "hundred and eighteen captains under him, and an im-  
 "mense army under each of them? indeed he deemed them  
 "to be no number at all without God's assistance, and only  
 "spread out his hands \* towards this holy place, which  
 "you have now polluted, and reckoned upon him as upon  
 "his invincible Supporter, instead of his own army. Was  
 "not our Queen sent back, without any defilement, to her  
 "husband, the very next evening? while the king of Egypt  
 "fled away, adoring this place, which you have defiled  
 "by shedding thereon the blood of your own countrymen;  
 "and he also trembled at those visions which he saw in the  
 "night season, and bestowed both silver and gold on the  
 "Hebrews, as on a people beloved by God. Shall I say  
 "nothing, or shall I mention the removal of our fathers  
 "into Egypt, who, when they were used tyrannically, and  
 "were fallen under the power of the foreign kings for four  
 "hundred years together, and might have defended them-  
 "selves by war and by fighting, did yet do nothing but  
 "commit themselves to God! who is there that does not

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\* Josephus supposes in this his admirable speech to the Jews, that not Abra-  
 ham only, but Pharaoh king of Egypt, prayed towards a temple at Jerusa-  
 lem, or towards Jerusalem itself, in which were Mount Sion and Mount  
 Moriah, on which the tabernacle and temple did afterwards stand; and this  
 long before either the Jewish tabernacle or temple were built. Nor is the  
 famous command given by God to Abraham, to go two or three days jour-  
 ney on purpose to offer up his son Isaac there, unfavourable to such a notion.

“know how Egypt was over-run with all sorts of wild beasts  
 “and consumed by all sorts of distempers? how their land  
 “did not bring forth its fruit? how the Nile failed of wa-  
 “ter? how the ten plagues of Egypt followed upon one ano-  
 “ther? and how by those means our fathers were sent  
 “away under a guard, without any bloodshed, and with-  
 “out running any dangers, because God conducted them  
 “as his peculiar servants? Moreover, did not Palestine  
 “groan under the ravage the Assyrians \* made, when  
 “they carried away our sacred ark? as did their idol  
 “Dagon, and as also did that entire nation of those that car-  
 “ried it away; how they were smitten with a loathsome  
 “distemper in the secret parts of their bodies, when their  
 “very bowels came down together with what they had ea-  
 “ten, till those hands that stole it away were obliged to  
 “bring it back again, and that with the sound of cymbals  
 “and timbrels, and other oblations, in order to appease the  
 “anger of God for their violation of his holy ark. It was  
 “God who then became our general, and accomplished  
 “these great things for our fathers, and this because they  
 “did not meddle with war and fighting, but committed it to  
 “him to judge about their affairs. When Senacherib,  
 “king of Assyria, brought along with him all Asia, and  
 “encompassed this city round with his army, did he fall  
 “by the hands of men? were not those hands lifted up to  
 “God in prayers, without meddling with their arms, when  
 “an angle of God destroyed that prodigious army in one  
 “night? when the Assyrian king, as he rose the next day,  
 “found an hundred four score and five thousand dead bo-  
 “dies and when he, with the remainder of his army fled  
 “away from the Hebrews, though they were unarmed,  
 “and did not pursue them. You are also acquainted with  
 “the slavery we were under at Babylon, where the people  
 “were captives for seventy years; yet were they not deliver-  
 “ed into freedom again before God made Cyrus his gracious  
 “instrument in bringing it about; accordingly they were

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\* Note here, that Josephus, in this his same admirable speech calls the Syrians, nay, even the Philistines on the most south part of Syria, *Assyrians*; which Reland observes as what was common among the ancient writers. Note also, that Josephus might well put the Jews in mind, as he does here more than once, of their wonderful and truly miraculous deliverance from Senacherib, king of Assyria, while the Roman army, and himself with them, were now encamped upon and beyond that very spot of ground where the Assyrian army lay 780 years before, and which retained the very name of the *Camp of the Assyrians* to that very day. See chap. vii. § 3, and chap. xii. § 2.

“set free by him, and did again restore the worship of  
“their Deliverer at his temple. And to speak in general,  
“we can produce no example wherein our fathers got any  
“success by war, or failed of success when without war they  
“committed themselves to God. When they staid at home,  
“they conquered, as pleased their judge, but when they went  
“out to fight they were always disappointed : for example,  
“when the king of Babylon besieged this very city, and  
“our king Zedekiah fought against him, contrary to what  
“predictions were made to him by Jeremiah the prophet,  
“he was at once taken prisoner, and saw the city and the  
“temple demolished. Yet, how much greater was the mod-  
“eration of that king, than is that of our present gover-  
“nors, and that of the people then under him, than is that of  
“you at this time ? for when Jeremiah cried out aloud, how  
“very angry God was at them because of their transgressions,  
“and told them they should be taken prisoners, unless they  
“would surrender up their city neither did the king nor the  
“people put him to death : but for you (to pass over what  
“you have done within the city, which I am not able to de-  
“scribe, as your wickedness deserves,) you abuse me, and  
“throw darts at me, who only exhort you to save yourselves,  
“and being provoked when you are put in mind of your  
“sins, and cannot bear the very mention of those crimes  
“which you every day perpetrate. For another example,  
“when Antiochus, who was called *Epiphanes*, lay be-  
“fore this city, and had been guilty of many indignities a-  
“gainst God, and our forefathers met him in arms, they then  
“were slain in the battle, this city was plundered by our  
“enemies, and our sanctuary made desolate for three years  
“and six months. And what need I bring any more exam-  
“ples ? Indeed, what can it be that hath stirred up an ar-  
“my of the Romans against our nation ? is it not the impie-  
“ty of the inhabitants ? Whence did our servitude com-  
“mence ? was it not derived from the seditions that were a-  
“mong our forefathers, when the madness of Aristobulus  
“and Hyrcanus, and our mutual quarrels, brought Pompey  
“upon this city, and when God reduced those under sub-  
“jection to the Romans, who were unworthy of the liberty  
“they had enjoyed. After a siege, therefore, of three  
“months, they were forced to surrender themselves al-  
“though they had not been guilty of such offences with  
“regard to our sanctuary and our laws, as you have ; and  
“this while they had much greater advantages to go to

“ war than you have. Do not we know what end Antigonus the son of Aristobulus, came to, under whose reign God provided that this city should be taken again upon account of the people’s offences? When Herod, the son of Antipater, brought upon us Socius, and Socius brought upon us the Roman army, they were then encompassed and besieged for six months, till, as a punishment for their sins, they were taken, and the city was plundered by the enemy. Thus it appears, that arms were never given to our nation, but that we are always given up to be fought against, and to be taken; for I suppose, that such as inhabit this holy place ought to commit the disposal of all things to God, and then only to disregard the assistance of men, when they resign themselves up to their Arbitrator who is above. As for you, what have you done of those things that are recommended by our Legislator? and what have you not done of those things that he hath condemned? How much more impious are you than those which were so quickly taken? You have not avoided so much as those sins that are usually done in secret; I mean thefts, and treacherous plots against men, and adulteries. You are quarrelling about rapines and murders, and invent strange ways of wickedness. Nay, the temple itself is become the receptacle of all, and this divine place is polluted by the hands of those of our own country; which place hath yet been revered by the Romans, when it was at a distance from them, when they have suffered many of their own customs to give place to our law. And, after all this, do you expect him whom you have so impiously abused to be your Supporter? To be sure, then you have a right to be petitioners, and to call upon him to assist you, so pure are your hands? Did your king [Hezekiah] lift up such hands in prayer to God against the king of Assyria, when he destroyed that great army in one night? And do the Romans commit such wickedness as did the king of Assyria, that you may have reason to hope for the like vengeance upon them! Did not that king accept of money from our king on this condition, that he should not destroy the city, and yet contrary to the oath he had taken, he came down to burn the temple? while the Romans do demand no more than that accustomed tribute which our fathers paid to their fathers; and if they may

"but once obtain that, they neither aim to destroy the  
 "city, nor to touch this sanctuary ; nay, they will grant  
 "you besides, that your posterity shall be free, and your  
 "possessions secured to you, and will preserve your holy  
 "laws inviolate to you. And it is plain madness to expect  
 "that God should appear as well disposed towards  
 "the wicked as towards the righteous since he knows  
 "when it is proper to punish men for their sins imme-  
 "diately: accordingly he brake the power of the As-  
 "syrians the very first night that they pitched their  
 "camp. Wherefore, had he judged that our nation was  
 "worthy of freedom, or the Romans of punishment, he  
 "had immediately inflicted punishment upon those Romans,  
 "as he did upon the Assyrians, when Pompey began to  
 "meddle with our nation, or when, after him, Sosius  
 "came up against us, or when Vespasian laid waste Gali-  
 "lee, or lastly, when Titus came first of all near to this  
 "city; although Magnus and Sosius did not only suffer  
 "nothing, but took the city by force; as did Vespasian  
 "go from the war he made against you to receive the em-  
 "pire; and as for Titus, those springs that were formerly al-  
 "most dried up \* when they were under your power, since  
 "he has come, run more plentifully than they did before :  
 "accordingly, you know that Siloam, as well as all the  
 "other springs that were without the city did so far fail,  
 "that water was sold by distinct measures; whereas they now  
 "have such a great quantity of water for your enemies, as is  
 "sufficient not only for drink both for themselves and their  
 "cattle, but for watering their gardens also. The same  
 "wonderful sign you had also experience of formerly,  
 "when the forementioned king of Babylon made war a-  
 "gainst us, and when he took the city and burnt the tem-  
 "ple; while yet I believe the Jews of that age were not so  
 "impious as you are. Wherefore I cannot but suppose  
 "that God is fled out of his sanctuary, and stands on the  
 "side of those against whom you fight. Now even a man  
 "if he be but a good man, will fly from any impure house,  
 "and will hate those that are in it; and do you persuade

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\* This drying up of the Jerusalem fountain of Siloam, when the Jews wanted it, and its flowing abundantly when the enemies of the Jews wanted it, and these both in the days of Zedekiah and of Titus, (and this last as a certain event well known by the Jews at that time, as Josephus here tells them openly to their faces), are very remarkable instances of a divine Providence for the punishment of the Jewish nation, when they were grown very wicked, at both those times of the destruction of Jerusalem.



"yourselves that God will abide with you in your iniquities, who sees all secret things, and hears what is kept most private? Now what crime is there, I pray you, that is so much as kept secret among you, or is concealed by you? nay what is there that is not open to your very enemies? for you shew your transgressions after a pompous manner, and contend one with another which of you shall be more wicked than another; and you make a public demonstration of your injustice, as if it were virtue. However, there is place left for your preservation, if you be willing to accept of it; and God is easily reconciled to those that confess their faults and repent of them. O hard-hearted wretches as you are! cast away all your arms and take pity of your country already going to ruin, return from your wicked ways, and have regard to the excellency of that city you are going to betray, to that excellent temple, with the donations of so many countries in it. Who could bear to be the first that should set that temple on fire? who could be willing that these things should be no more? and what is there that can better deserve to be preserved? O insensible creatures, and more stupid than are the stones themselves! And if you cannot look at these things with discerning eyes, yet however, have pity upon your families, and set before every one of your eyes your children, and wives, and parents, which will be gradually consumed either by famine or by war. I am sensible that this danger will extend to my mother and wife, and to that family of mine which hath been by no means ignoble, and indeed to one that hath been very eminent in old time; and perhaps you may imagine that it is on their account only that I give you this advice: if that be all kill them; nay take my own blood as a reward, if it may but procure your preservation; for I am ready to die, in case you will but return to a sound mind after my death."

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#### CHAP X.

How a great many of the people earnestly endeavoured to desert to the Romans; as also what intolerable things those that staid behind suffered by famine, and the sad consequences thereof.

§ 1. As Josephus was speaking thus with a loud voice, the seditious would neither yield to what he said, nor did

they deem it safe for them to alter their conduct ; but as for the people, they had a great inclination to desert to the Romans : accordingly, some of them sold what they had, and even the most precious things that had been laid up as treasures by them, for a very small matter, and swallowed down pieces of gold, that they might not be found out by the robbers ; and when they had escaped to the Romans, went to stool, and had wherewithal to provide plentifully for themselves : for Titus let a great number of them go away into the country whither they pleased. And the main reasons why they were so ready to desert were these, that now they should be freed from those miseries which they had endured in that city, and yet should not be in slavery to the Romans : however, John and Simon, with their factions, did more carefully watch these men's going out, than they did the coming in of the Romans ; and if any one did but afford the least shadow of suspicion of such an intention, his throat was cut immediately.

2. But as for the richer sort, it proved all one to them whether they staid in the city, or attempted to get out of it ; for they were equally destroyed in both cases ; for every such person was put to death under this pretence, that they were going to desert, but in reality that the robbers might get what they had. The madness of the seditious did also increase together with their famine, and both those miseries were every day anflamed more and more ; for there was no corn which any where appeared publicly, but the robbers came running into, and searched men's private houses : and then, if they found any, they tormented them, because they had denied they had any, and if they found none, they tormented them worse, because they supposed they had more carefully concealed it. The indication they made use of, whether they had any or not ; was taken from the bodies of these miserable wretches ; which, if they were in good case, they supposed they were in no want at all of food ; but if they were wasted away, they walked off without searching any farther : nor did they think it proper to kill such as these, because they saw they would very soon die of themselves for want of food. Many there were indeed who sold what they had for one measure ; it was of wheat, if they were of the richer sort, but of barley, if they were poorer. When these had so done, they shut themselves up in the inmost rooms of their houses, and eat

the corn they had gotten ; some did it without grinding it, by reason of the extremity of the want they were in, and others baked bread of it, according as necessity and fear dictated to them : a table was no where laid for a distinct meal, but they snatched the bread out of the fire, half-baked, and eat it very hastily.

3. It was now a miserable case, and a sight that would justly bring tears into our eyes, how men stood as to their food, while the more powerful had more than enough, and the weaker were lamenting [for want of it]. But the famine was too hard for all other passions, and it is destructive to nothing so much as to modesty ; for what was otherwise worthy of reverence was in this case despised ; insomuch that children pulled the very morsels that their fathers were eating out of their very mouths ; and, what was still more to be pitied, so did the mothers do as to their infants ; and when those that were most dear were perishing under their hands, they were not ashamed to take from them the very last drops that might preserve their lives : and while they eat after this manner, yet were they not concealed in so doing ; but the seditious every where came upon them immediately, and snatched away from them what they had gotten from others ; for when they saw any house shut up, this was to them a signal that the people within had gotten some food ; whereupon they broke open the doors, and ran in, and took pieces of what they were eating almost up out of their very throats, and this by force : the old men, who held their food fast were beaten, and if the women hid what they had within their hands, their hair was torn for so doing ; nor was there any commiseration shewn either to the aged, or to the infants, but they lifted up children from the ground, as they hung upon the morsels they had gotten, and shook them down upon the floor. But still were they more barbarously cruel to those that had prevented their coming in, and had actually swallowed down what they were going to seize upon, as if they had been unjustly defrauded of their right. They also invented terrible methods of torments, to discover where any food was, and they were these ; to stop up the passages of the privy parts of the miserable wretches, and to drive sharp stakes up their fundaments ; and a man was forced to bear what is terrible even to hear, in order to make him confess that he had but one loaf of bread, or that he might discover an handful of

barley-meal that was concealed; and this was done when these tormentors were not themselves hungry; for the thing had been less barbarous, had necessity forced them to it; but this was done to keep their madness in exercise, and as making preparation of provisions for themselves for the following days. These men went also to meet those that had crept out of the city by night, as far as the Roman guards, to gather some plants and herbs that grew wild; and when those people thought they had got clear of the enemy, these snatched from them what they had brought with them, even while they had frequently entreated them, and that by calling upon the tremendous name of God, to give them back some part of what they had brought; though these would not give them the least crumb, and they were to be well contented that they were only spoiled, and not slain at the same time.

4. These were the afflictions which the lower sort of people suffered from these tyrants' guards; but, for the men that were in dignity, and withal were rich, they were carried before the tyrants themselves; some of them were falsely accused of laying treacherous plots, and so were destroyed; others of them were charged with designs of betraying the city to the Romans; but the readiest way of all was this, to suborn somebody to affirm, that they were resolved to desert to the enemy. And he who was utterly despoiled of what he had by Simon, was sent back again to John; as of those who had been already plundered by John, Simon got what remained; insomuch that they drank the blood of the populace to one another, and divided the dead bodies of the poor creatures between them: so that although, on account of their ambition after dominion, they contended with each other, yet did they very well agree in their wicked practices; for he that did not communicate what he got by the miseries of others to the other tyrant, seemed to be too little guilty, and in one respect only; and he that did not partake of what was so communicated to him grieved at this, as at the loss of what was a valuable thing, that he had no share in such barbarity.

5. It is therefore impossible to go distinctly over every instance of these men's iniquity. I shall therefore speak my mind here at once briefly, that neither did any other city ever suffer such miseries, nor did any age ever breed a generation more fruitful in wickedness than this was, from

the beginning of the world. Finally, they brought the Hebrew nation into contempt, that they might themselves appear comparatively less impious with regard to strangers. They confessed what was true, that they were the slaves, the scum, and the spurious and abortive offspring of our nation, while they overthrew the city themselves, and forced the Romans, whether they would or no, to gain a melancholy reputation by acting gloriously against them, and did almost draw that fire upon the temple, which they seemed to think came too slowly : and indeed, when they saw that temple burning from the upper city, they were neither troubled at it, nor did they shed any tears on that account, while yet those passions were discovered among the Romans themselves. Which circumstances we shall speak of hereafter in their proper place, when we come to treat of such matters.

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## CHAP. XL.

*How the Jews were crucified before the walls of the city. Concerning Antiochus Epiphanes. And how the Jews overthrew the banks that had been raised by the Romans,*

§ 1. So now, Titus's banks were advanced a great way, notwithstanding his soldiers had been very much distressed from the wall. he then sent a party of horsemen and ordered they should lay ambushes for those that went out into valleys to gather food. Some of these were indeed fighting men, who were not contented with what they got by rapine ; but the greater part of them were poor people, who were deterred from deserting by the concern they were under for their own relations ; for they could not hope to escape away, together with their wives and children, without the knowledge of the seditious ; nor could they think of leaving these relations to be slain by the robbers on their account ; nay the severity of the famine made them bold in thus going out : so nothing remained but that, when they were concealed from the robbers, they should be taken by the enemy, and when they were going to be taken, they were forced to defend themselves for fear of being punished ; as after they had fought, they thought it too late to make any supplications for mercy ; so they were

first whipped, and then tormented with all sorts of tortures before they died, and were then crucified \* before the wall of the city. This miserable procedure made Titus greatly to pity them, while they caught every day five hundred Jews; nay, some days they caught more: yet did it not appear to be safe for him to let those that were taken by force to go their way, and to set a guard over so many, he saw, would be to make such as guarded them useless to him. The main reason why he did not forbid that cruelty was this, that he hoped the Jews might perhaps yield at that sight, out of fear lest they might themselves afterwards be liable to the same cruel treatment. So the soldiers, out of the wrath and hatred they bore the Jews, nailed \* those they caught, one after one way, and another after another, to the crosses, by way of jest, and when their multitude was so great, that room was wanting for the crosses, and crosses wanting for the bodies.

2. But so far were the seditious from repenting at this sad sight, that, on the contrary, they made the rest of the multitude believe otherwise; for they brought the relations of those that had deserted upon the wall, with such of the populace as were very eager to go over upon the security offered them, and shewed them what miseries those underwent who fled to the Romans; and told them, that those who were caught were supplicants to them, and not such as were taken prisoners. This sight kept many of those within the city who were so eager to desert, till the truth was known: yet did some of them run away immediately as unto certain punishment, esteeming death from their enemies to be a quiet departure, if compared with that by famine. So Titus commanded that the hands of many of those that were caught should be cut off, that they might not be thought deserters, and might be credited on account of the calamity they were under, and sent them in to John and Simon, with this exhortation, That “ they would now “ at length leave off [their madness], and not force him to “ destroy the city, whereby they would have those advantages of repentance, even in their utmost distress, that

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\* Reland very properly takes notice here, how justly this judgment came upon the Jews, when they were crucified in such multitudes together, that the Romans wanted room for the crosses, and crosses for the bodies of these Jews, since they had brought this judgment on themselves by the crucifixion of their Messiah.

“ they would preserve their own lives, and so fine a city of their own, and that temple which was their peculiar.” He then went round about the banks that were cast up, and hastened them, in order to shew, that his words should in no long time be followed by his deeds. In answer to which, the seditious cast reproaches upon Cæsar himself, and upon his father also, and cried out with a loud voice, ‘That they contemned death, and did well in preferring it before slavery : that they would do all the mischief to the Romans they could, while they had breath in them ; and, that for their own city, since they were, as he said, to be destroyed, they had no concern about it, and that the world itself was a better temple to God than this. That yet this temple would be preserved by him that inhabited therein, whom they still had for their assistant in this war, and did therefore laugh at all his threatenings, which would come to nothing ; because the conclusion of the whole depended upon God only.’ These words were mixed with reproaches, and with them they made a mighty clamour.

3. In the mean time Antiochus Epiphanes came to the city, having with him a considerable number of other armed men, and a band called the *Macedonian band* about him, all of the same age, tall, and just past their childhood, armed, and instructed after the Macedonian manner, whence it was that they took that name. Yet were many of them unworthy of so famous a nation ; for it had so happened, that the king of Commagene had flourished more than any other kings that were under the power of the Romans, till a change happened in his condition ; and when he was become an old man, he declared plainly, that we ought not to call any man happy before he is dead. But this son of his, who was then come thither before his father was decaying, said, that “ he could not but wonder, what made the Romans so tardy in making their attacks upon the wall.” Now, he was a warlike man, and naturally bold in exposing himself to dangers ; he was also so strong a man, that his boldness seldom failed of having success ; upon this Titus smiled, and said, “ he would share the pains of an attack with him.” However, Antiochus went as he then was, and with his Macedonians made a sudden assault upon the wall ; and, indeed, for his own part, his strength and skill were so great, that he guarded himself

from the Jewish darts, and yet shot his darts at them, while yet the young men with him were almost all sorely galled; for they had so great a regard to the promises that had been made of their courage, that they would needs persevere in their fighting, and at length many of them retired, but not till they were wounded; and then they perceived that true Macedonians, if they were to be conquerors, must have Alexander's good fortune also.

4. Now, as the Romans began to raise their banks on the twelfth day of the month Artemisius, [Jyar.] so had they much ado to finish them by the twenty-ninth day of the same month, after they had laboured hard for seventeen days continually. For there were now four great banks raised, one of which was at the tower Antonia; this was raised by the fifth legion, over against the middle of that pool which was called *Struthius*. Another was cast up by the twelfth legion, at the distance of about twenty cubits from the other. But the labours of the tenth legion, which lay a great way off these, were on the north quarter, and at the pool called *Amygdalon*; as was that of the fifteenth legion about thirty cubits from it, and at the high-priest's monument. And now, when the engines were brought, John had from within undermined the space that was over against the tower of Antonia, as far as the banks themselves, and had supported the ground over the mine with beams laid across one another, whereby the Roman works stood upon an uncertain foundation. Then did he order such materials to be brought in, as were daubed over with pitch and bitumen, and set them on fire; and as the cross beams that supported the banks were burning, the ditch yielded on the sudden, and the banks were shaken down, and fell into the ditch with a prodigious noise. Now, at the first there arose a very thick smoke and dust, as the fire was choked with the fall of the bank; but as the suffocated materials were now gradually consumed, a plain flame brake out, on which sudden appearance of the flame, a consternation fell upon the Romans, and the shrewdness of the contrivance discouraged them: and indeed this accident coming upon them at a time when they thought they had already gained their point, cooled their hopes for the time to come. They also thought it would be to no purpose to take the pains to extinguish the fire, since, if it



were extinguished, the banks were swallowed up already [and become useless to them.]

5. Two days after this, Simon and his party made an attempt to destroy the other banks; for the Romans had brought their engines to bear there, and began already to make the wall shake. And here, one Tephtheus of Garsis, a city of Galilee, and Megassarus, one who was derived from some of Queen Mariamne's servants, and with them one from Adiabene, he was the son of Nabateus, and called by the name of *Chagiras*, from the ill fortune he had, the word signifying a *lame man*, snatched some torches, and ran suddenly upon the engines. Nor were there, during this war, any men that ever sallied out of the city who were their superiors, either in their own boldness, or in the terror they struck into their enemies. For they ran out upon the Romans, not as if they were enemies, but friends without fear or delay; nor did they leave their enemies till they had rushed violently through the midst of them, and set their machines on fire. And though they had darts thrown at them on every side, and were on every side assaulted with their enemies' swords, yet did they not withdraw themselves out of the dangers they were in, till the fire had caught hold of the instruments; but when the flames went up the Romans came running from their camp to save their engines. Then did the Jews hinder their succours from the wall, and fought with those that endeavoured to quench the fire, without any regard to the danger their bodies were in. So the Romans pulled the engines out of the fire, while the hurdles that covered them were on fire; but the Jews caught hold of the battering rams through the flame itself, and held them fast, although the iron upon them was become red hot; and now the fire spread itself from the engine to the banks, and prevented those that came to defend them; and all this while the Romans were encompassed round about with the flame and, despairing of saving their works from it, they retired to their camp. Then did the Jews become still more and more in number, by the coming of those that were within the city to their assistance; and as they were very bold upon the good success they had had, their violent assaults were almost irresistible: nay, they proceeded as far as the fortifications of the enemies' camp, and fought with their guards. Now there stood a body of soldiers in array be-

fore that camp, which succeeded one another by turns in their armour ; and as to those, the law of the Romans was terrible, that he who left his post there, let the occasion be whatsoever it might be, he was to die for it ; so that body of soldiers, preferring rather to die in fighting courageously, than as a punishment for their cowardice, stood firm, and at the necessity these men were in of standing to it, many of the others that had runaway, out of shame turned back again ; and when they had set the engines against the wall, they kept the multitude from coming more of them out of the city, [which they could the more easily do], because they had made no provision for preserving or guarding their bodies at this time ; for the Jews fought now hand to hand with all that came in their way, and without any caution, fell against the points of their enemies' spears, and attacked them, bodies against bodies : ~~for they were now too hard for the Romans, not so much~~ by their other warlike actions, as by these courageous assaults they made upon them ; and the Romans gave way more to their boldness than they did to the sense of the harm they had received from them.

6. And now Titus was come from the tower of Antonia, whither he was gone to look out for a place for raising other banks, and reproached the soldiers greatly for permitting their own walls to be in danger, when they had taken the walls of their enemies, and sustained the fortune of men besieged, while the Jews were allowed to sally out against them, though they were already in a sort of prison. He then went round about the enemy with some chosen troops and fell upon their flank himself ; so the Jews who had been before assaulted in their faces, wheeled about to Titus, and continued the fight. The armies also were now mixed, one among another, and the dust that was raised so far hindered them from seeing one another, and the noise that was made so far hindered them from hearing one another, that neither side could discern an enemy from a friend. However, the Jews did not flinch, though not so much from their real strength as from the despair of deliverance. The Romans also would not yield, by reason of the regard they had to glory, and to their reputation in war, and because Cæsar himself went into the danger before them ; insomuch that I cannot but think the Romans would in the conclusion have now taken even the whole multitude of the Jews, so very angry were they at them, had these not prevented the upshot of

the battle, and retired into the city. However, seeing the banks of the Romans were demolished, these Romans were very much cast down upon the loss of what had cost them so long pains, and this in one hour's time. And many indeed despaired of taking the city with their usual engines of war only.

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## CHAP. XII.

Titus thought fit to encompass the city round with a wall: after which the famine consumed the people by whole houses and families together.

§ 1. AND now did Titus consult with his commanders what was to be done. Those that were of the warmest tempers, thought he should bring the whole army against the city, and storm the wall; for that hitherto no more than a part of their army had fought with the Jews, but that in case the entire army was to come at once, they would not be able to sustain their attacks, but would be overwhelmed by their darts. But of those that were for a more cautious management, some were for raising their banks again, and others advised to let the banks alone, but to lie still, before the city, to guard against the coming out of the Jews, and against their carrying provisions into the city, and so to leave the enemy to the famine, and this without direct fighting with them; for that despair was not to be conquered especially as to those who are desirous to die by the sword, while a more terrible misery than that is reserved for them. However, Titus did not think it fit for so great an army to lie entirely idle, and that yet it was in vain to fight with those that would be destroyed one by another: he also shewed them how impracticable it was to cast up any more banks, for want of materials, and to guard against the Jews' coming out still more impracticable: as also that to encompass the whole city round with his army, was not very easy, by reason of its magnitude, and the difficulty of the situation and on other accounts dangerous, upon the sallies the Jews might make out of the city. For although they might guard the known passages out of the place, yet, would they, when they found themselves under the greatest distress, contrive secret passages out, as being

well acquainted with all such places ; and if any provisions were carried in by stealth, the siege would thereby be longer delayed. He also owned, that he was afraid that the length of time thus to be spent, would diminish the glory of his success : for, though it be true, that length of time will perfect every thing, yet that, to do what we do in a little time, is still necessary to the gaining reputation. That, therefore, his opinion was, that if they aimed at quickness, joined with security, they must build a wall round about the whole city, which was, he thought, the only way to prevent the Jews from coming out any way, and that then they would either entirely despair of saving the city, and so would surrender it up to him, or be still the more easily conquered, when the famine had farther weakened them. For that, besides this wall, he would not lie entirely at rest afterward, but would take care then to have banks raised again, when those that would oppose them were become weaker. But that, if any one should think such a work to be too great, and not to be finished without such difficulty, he ought to consider, that it is not fit for Romans to undertake any small work ; and that none but God himself could with ease accomplish any great thing whatsoever.

2. These arguments prevailed with the commanders. So Titus gave orders that the army should be distributed to their several shares of this work ; and indeed there now came upon the soldiers a certain divine fury, so that they did not only part the whole wall that was to be built among them, nor did only one legion strive with another, but the lesser divisions of the army did the same ; insomuch that each soldier was ambitious to please his decurion, each decurion his centurion, each centurion his tribune and the ambition of the tribunes was to please their superior commanders ; while Cæsar himself took notice of, and rewarded the like contention in those commanders ; for he went round about the works many times every day, and took a view of what was done, Titus began the wall from the camp to the Assyrians, where his own camp was pitched, and drew it down to the lower parts of Cenopolis ; thence it went along the valley of Cedron to the mount of Olives ; it then bent towards the south, and encompassed the mountain as far as the rock called *Peristereon*, and that other hill which lies next it, and is over the valley which reaches to Si-

loam; whence it bended again to the west, and went down to the valley of the fountain, beyond which it went up again at the monument of Ananus the high-priest, and encompassing that mountain where Pompey had formerly pitched his camp, it returned back to the north side of the city, and was carried on as far as a certain village called the *House of the Erebinthi*; after which it encompassed Herod's monument, and there, on the east, was joined to Titus's own camp, where it began. Now, the length of this wall was forty furlongs, one only abated. Now, at this wall without were erected thirteen places to keep garrison in, whose circumferences put together amounted to ten furlongs; the whole was completed in three days: so that what would naturally have required some months, was done in so short an interval as is incredible. When Titus had therefore encompassed the city with this wall, and put garrisons into proper places, he went round the wall at the first watch of the night, and observed how the guard was kept; the second watch he allotted to Alexander; the commanders of legions took the third watch. They also cast lots among themselves who should be upon the watch in the night time, and who should go all night long round the spaces that were interposed between the garrisons.

3. So all hope of escaping was now cut off from the Jews, together with their liberty of going out of the city. Then did the famine widen its progress, and devoured the people by whole houses and families; the upper rooms were full of women and children that were dying by famine, and the lanes of the city were full of the dead bodies of the aged; the children also, and the young men wandered about the market-places like shadows, all swelled with the famine, and fell down dead, wheresoever their misery seized them. As for burying them, those that were sick themselves were not able to do it, and those that were hearty and well, were deterred from doing it by the great multitude of those dead bodies, and by the uncertainty there was how soon they should die themselves; for many died as they were burying others, and many went to their coffins before that fatal hour was come. Nor was there any lamentations made under these calamities, nor were heard any mournful complaints; but the famine confounded all natural passions: for those who were just going to die looked upon those that were gone to their rest before them with dry eyes and open

mouths. A deep silence also, and a kind of deadly night had seized upon the city ; while yet the robbers were still more terrible than these miseries were themselves ; for they break open those houses which were no other than graves of dead bodies, and plundered them of what they had, and carrying off the coverings of their bodies, went out laughing, and tried the points of their swords in their dead bodies ; and in order to prove what metal they were made of they thrust some of these through that still lay alive upon the ground ; but for those that entreated them to lend them their right hand and their sword to dispatch them, they were too proud to grant their request, and left them to be consumed by the famine. Now, every one of these died with their eyes fixed upon the temple, and left the seditious alive behind them. Now the seditious at first gave orders that the dead should be buried out of the public treasury, as not enduring the stench of their dead bodies. But afterwards, when they could not do that, they had them cast down from the walls into the valleys beneath.

4. However, when Titus in going his rounds along those valleys, saw them full of dead bodies, and the thick putrefaction running about them, he gave a groan, and spreading out his hands to heaven, called God to witness, that this was not his doing ; and such was the sad case of the city itself. But the Romans were very joyful, since none of the seditious could now make sallies out of the city, because they themselves were disconsolate, and the famine already touched them also. These Romans besides had great plenty of corn, and other necessities out of Syria and out of the neighbouring provinces ; many of which would stand near to the wall of the city, and shew the people what great quantities of provisions they had, and so make the enemy more sensible of their famine, by the great plenty, even to satiety, which they had themselves. However, when the seditious still shewed no inclinations of yielding, Titus, out of his commiseration of the people that remained, and out of his earnest desire of rescuing what was still left out of these miseries, began to raise the banks again, although materials for them were hard to be come at ; for all the trees that were about the city had been already cut down for the making of the former banks. Yet did the soldiers bring with them other materials from the

distance of ninety furlongs, and thereby raised banks in four parts, much greater than the former, though this was done only at the tower of Antonia. So Cæsar went his rounds through the legions, and hastened on the works, and shewed the robbers that they were now in his hands. But these men, and these only, were incapable of repenting of the wickedness they had been guilty of, and separating their souls from their bodies, they used them both as if they belonged to other folks, and not to themselves. For no gentle affection could touch their souls, nor could any pain affect their bodies, since they could still tear the dead bodies of the people as dogs do, and fill the prisons with those that were sick.

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### CHAP. XIII.

The great slaughters and sacrilege that were in Jerusalem.

§ 1. ACCORDINGLY, Simon would not suffer Matthias, by whose means he got possession of the city, to go off without torment. This Matthias was the son of Boethus, and was one of the high-priests, one that had been very faithful to the people, and in great esteem with them; he, when the multitude were distressed by the zealots, among whom John was numbered, persuaded the people to admit this Simon to come in to assist them, while he had made no terms with him, nor expected any thing that was evil from him. But when Simon was come in, and had gotten the city under his power, he esteemed him that had advised them to admit him as his enemy equally with the rest, as looking upon that advice as a piece of his simplicity only; so he had him then brought before him, and condemned to die for being on the side of the Romans, without giving him leave to make his defence. He condemned also his three sons to die with him; for as to the fourth, he prevented him by running away to Titus before. And, when he begged for this, that he might be slain before his sons, and that as a favour, on account that he had procured the gates of the city to be opened to him, he gave order that he should be slain the last of them all; so he was not slain till he had seen his sons slain before his eyes, and that by being produced over against the Romans; for such a charge had Simon

given to Ananus the son of Bamadus, who was the most barbarous of all his guards. He also jested upon him, and told him, that he might now see whether those to whom he intended to go over, would send him any succours or not: but still he forbade their dead bodies should be buried. After the slaughter of these, a certain priest, Ananias, the son of Masambalus a person of eminency, as also Aristeu, the scribe of the Sanhedrim, and born at Emmaus, and with them fifteen men of figure among the people were slain. They also kept Josephus's father in prison, and made public proclamation, that no citizen whosoever should either speak to him himself or go into his company among others for fear he should betray them. They also slew such as joined in lamenting these men, without any farther examination.

2. Now when Judas the son of Judas, who was one of Simon's under-officers, and a person intrusted by him to keep one of the towers, saw this procedure of Simon, he called together ten of those under him, that were most faithful to him, (perhaps this was done partly out of pity to those that had so barbarously been put to death, but principally in order to provide for his own safety), and spake thus to them: "How long shall we bear these miseries? or what hopes have we of deliverance by thus continuing faithful to such wicked wretches? Is not the famine already come against us? Are not the Romans in a manner gotten within the city? Is not Simon become unfaithful to his benefactors? and is there not reason to fear he will very soon bring us to the like punishment, while the security the Romans offer us is sure? Come on, let us surrender up this wall, and save ourselves and the city. Nor will Simon be very much hurt, if, now he despairs of deliverance, he be brought to justice a little sooner than he thinks on." Now these men were prevailed upon by those arguments; so he sent the rest of those that were under him some one way and some another, that no discovery might be made of what they had resolved upon. Accordingly he called to the Romans, from the tower about the third hour; but they, some of them out of pride despised what he said, and others of them did not believe him to be in earnest, though the greatest number delayed the matter, as believing they should get possession of the city in a little time without any hazard. But when Titus was just



coming thither with his armed men, Simon was acquainted with the matter before he came, and presently took the tower into his own custody, before it was surrendered, and seized upon these men, and put them to death in the sight of the Romans themselves; and when he had mangled their dead bodies, he threw them down before the wall of the city.

3. In the mean time, Josephus, as he was going round the city, had his head wounded by a stone that was thrown at him; upon which he fell down as giddy. Upon which fall of his the Jews made a sally, and he had been hurried away into the city, if Cæsar had not sent men to protect him immediately; and, as these men were fighting, Josephus was taken up, though he heard little of what was done. So the seditious supposed they had now slain that man whom they were the most desirous of killing, and made thereupon a great noise in way of rejoicing. This accident was told in the city; and the multitude that remained became very disconsolate at the news, as being persuaded that he was really dead, on whose account alone they could venture to desert to the Romans. But when Josephus's mother heard in prison that her son was dead, she said to those that watched about her. 'That she had always been "of opinion since the siege of Jotapata, [that he would be "slain], and she should never enjoy him alive any more." She also made great lamentation privately to the maid servants that were about her and said, "That this was all "the advantage she had of bringing so extraordinary a person "as this son into the world, that she should not be able "even to bury that son of hers, by whom she expected to "have been buried herself." However, this false report did not put his mother to pain, nor afford merriment to the robbers long; for Josephus soon recovered of his wound, and came out, and cried out aloud, "That it would not be "long ere they should be punished for this wound they had "given him." He also made a fresh exhortation to the people, to come out upon the security that would be given them. This sight of Josephus encouraged the people greatly, and brought a great consternation upon the seditious.

4. Hereupon, some of the deserters, having no other way, leaped down from the wall immediately, while others of them went out of the city with stones, as if they would

fight them ; but thereupon they fled away to the Romans. But here a worse fate accompanied these, than what they had found within the city ; and they met with a quicker dispatch from the too great abundance they had among the Romans, than they could have done from the famine among the Jews ; for when they came first to the Romans, they were puffed up by the famine, and swelled like men in a dropsy : after which they all on the sudden over-filled those bodies that were before empty, and so burst asunder, excepting such only as were skilful enough to restrain their appetites and by degrees took in their food into bodies unaccustomed thereto. Yet did another plague seize upon those that were thus preserved ; for there was found among the Syrian deserters a certain person who was caught gathering pieces of gold out of the excrements of the Jews' bellies ; for the deserters used to swallow such pieces of gold, as we told you before, when they came out ; and for these did the seditious search them all ; for there was a great quantity of gold in the city, insomuch that as much was now sold [in the Roman camp], for twelve Attic [drachms], as was sold before for twenty-five. But, when this contrivance was discovered in one instance, the fame of it filled their several camps, that the deserters came to them full of gold. So the multitude of the Arabians, with the Syrians, cut up those that came as supplicants, and searched their bellies. Nor does it seem to me, that any misery befel the Jews that was more terrible than this, since in one night's time about two thousand of these deserters were thus dissected.

5. When Titus came to the knowledge of this wicked practice, he had like to have surrounded those that had been guilty of it with his horse, and have shot them dead ; and he had done it, had not their number been so very great, and those that were liable to this punishment would have been manifold more than those whom they had slain. However, he called together the commanders of the auxiliary troops he had with him, as well as the commanders of the Roman legions, (for some of his own soldiers had been also guilty herein, as he had been informed) and had great indignation against both sorts of them, and said to them. " What ! have any of my own soldiers done such things as this out of the uncertain hope of gain, without regarding their own weapons, which are made of silver and gold ? " Moreover do the Arabians and Syrians now first of all

“begin to govern themselves as they please, and to indulge their appetites in a foreign war, and then, out of their barbarity in murdering men, and out of their hatred to the Jews, get it ascribed to the Romans?” for this infamous practice was said to be spread among some of his own soldiers also. Titus then threatened, that he would put such men to death, if any of them were discovered to be so insolent as to do so again: moreover, he gave it in charge to the legions, that they should make a search after such as were suspected, and should bring them to him. But it appeared that the love of money was too hard for all their dread of punishment, and a vehement desire of gain is natural to men, and no passion is so venturesome as covetousness; otherwise such passions have certain bounds, and are subordinate to fear. But, in reality, it was God who condemned the whole nation, and turned every course that was taken for their preservation to their destruction. This, therefore, which was forbidden by Cæsar under such a threatening, was ventured upon privately against the deserters, and these barbarians would go out still, and meet those that ran away before any saw them, and looking about them to see that no Roman spied them, they dissected them, and pulled this polluted money out of their bowels; which money was still found in a few of them, while yet a great many were destroyed by the bare hope there was of thus getting by them; which miserable treatment made them that were deserting to return back again into the city.

6. But, as for John, when he could no longer plunder the people, he betook himself to sacrilege, and melted down many of the sacred utensils, which had been given to the temple, as also many of those vessels which were necessary for such as ministered about holy things, the caldrons, the dishes, and the tables; nay, he did not abstain from those pouring vessels that were sent them by Augustus and his wife; for the Roman emperors did ever both honour and adorn this temple; whereas this man, who was a Jew, seized upon what were the donations of foreigners, and said to those that were with him, that it was proper for them to use divine things, while they were fighting for the Divinity, without fear, and that such whose warfare is for the temple, should live of the temple: on which account he emptied the vessels of that sacred wine and oil, which the priests kept to be poured on the burnt-offerings, and which lay in the inner

spurt of the temple, and distributed it among the multitude who, in their anointing themselves, and drinking, used [each of them] above an hin of them. And here I cannot but speak my mind, and what the concern I am under dictates to me, and it is this: I suppose, that had the Romans made any longer delay in coming against these villains, that the city would either have been swallowed up by the ground opening upon them, or been overflowed by water, or else been destroyed by such thunder as the country of Sodom \* perished by, for it had brought forth a generation of men much more atheistical than were those that suffered such punishments; for by their madness it was that all the people came to be destroyed.

7. And, indeed, why do I relate these particular calamities? while Manneus, the son of Lazarus, came running to Titus at this very time, and told him, that there had been carried out through that one gate, which was intrusted to his care, no fewer than an hundred and fifteen thousand eight hundred and eighty dead bodies, in the interval between the fourteenth day of the month Xanthicus, [Nisan,] when the Romans pitched their camp by the city, and the first day of the month Panemus, [T'Amuz.] This was itself a prodigious multitude: and though this man was not himself set as a governor at that gate, yet was he appointed to pay the public stipend for carrying these bodies out, and so was obliged of necessity to number them, while the rest were buried by their relations; though all their burial was but this, to bring them away and cast them out of the city. After this man, there ran away to Titus many of the eminent citizens, and told him the entire number of the poor that were dead, and that no fewer than six hundred thousand were thrown out at the gates; though still the number of the rest could not be discovered: and they told him farther, that, when they were no longer able to carry out the dead bodies of the poor, they laid their corpses on heaps in very large houses, and shut them up therein; as also that a medimus of wheat was sold for a talent, and that

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\* Josephus, both here and before. B iv. ch. viii. § 4. esteems the land of Sodom, not as part of the lake Asphaltitis, or under its waters, but near it only, as Tacitus also took the same notion from him. Hist. v. vi 7. which the great Reland takes to be the very truth, both in his note on this place, and in his Palestina, tom. 1. p. 254—258; though I rather suppose part of that region of Pentapolis to be now under the waters of the south part of that sea, but perhaps not the whole country.

when, a while afterward it was not possible to gather herbs, by reason the city was walled about, some persons were driven to that terrible distress as to search the common shores and old dunghills of cattle, and to eat the dung which they got there ; and what they of old could not endure so much as to see, they now used for food. When the Romans barely heard all this they commiserated their case ; while the seditious, who saw it also, did not repent, but suffered the same distress to come upon themselves ; for they were blinded by that fate which was already coming upon the city and upon themselves also.

## BOOK VI.

CONTAINING THE INTERVAL OF ABOUT ONE MONTH.

[From the great extremity to which the Jews were reduced, to the taking of Jerusalem by Titus.]

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## CHAP X.

That the miseries of the Jews still grew worse : and how the Romans made an assault upon the tower of Antonia.

§ 1. Thus did the miseries of Jerusalem grow worse and worse every day, and the seditious were still more irritated by the calamities they were under, even while the famine preyed upon themselves after it had preyed upon the people. And, indeed, the multitude of carcasses that lay in heaps one upon another, was an horrible sight, and produced a pestilential stench, which was an hindrance to those that would make sallies out of the city, and fight the enemy : but, as those were to go in battle array, who had been already used to ten thousand murders, and must tread upon those dead bodies as they marched along, so they were not terrified, nor did they pity men as they marched over them ; nor did they deem this affront offered to the deceased to be any ill omen to themselves : but, as they had their right hands already polluted with the murders of their own countrymen, and in that condition ran out to fight with foreigners, they seem to me to have cast a reproach upon God himself, as if he were too slow in punishing them : for the war was not now gone on with, as if they had any hope of victory ; for they gloried after a brutish manner in that despair of deliverance they were already in. And now the Romans, although they were greatly distressed in getting together their materials, raised their banks in one and twenty days, after they had cut down all the trees that were in the country that adjoined to the city, and that for ninety furlongs round about as I have already related. And truly, the very view itself of the country was a melancholy

ly thing ; for those places which were before adorned with trees and pleasant gardens, were now become a desolate country every way, and its trees were all cut down ; nor could any foreigner, that had formerly seen Judea and the most beautiful suburbs of the city, and now saw it as a desert, but lament and mourn sadly at so great a change ; for the war had laid all the signs of beauty quite waste ; nor, if any one that had known the place before, had come on a sudden to it now, would he have known it again ; but though he were at the city itself, yet would he have inquired for it notwithstanding.

2. And now the banks were finished, they afforded a foundation of fear both to the Romans and to the Jews ; for the Jews expected that the city would be taken, unless they could burn those banks, as did the Romans expect that, if they were once burnt down, they should never be able to take it ; for there was a mighty scarcity of materials and the bodies of the soldiers began to fail with such hard labours as did their souls faint with so many instances of ill success ; nay, the very calamities themselves that were in the city proved a greater discouragement to the Romans than to those within the city ; for they found the fighting men of the Jews to be not at all mollified among such their sore afflictions, while they had themselves perpetually less and less hopes of success, and their banks were forced to yield to the stratagems of the enemy, their engines to the firmness of their wall, and their closest fights to the boldness of their attack : and, what was their greatest discouragement of all they found the Jews' courageous souls to be superior to the multitude of the miseries they were under by their sedition, their famine, and the war itself ; insomuch, that they were ready to imagine, that the violence of their attacks was invincible, and that the alacrity they shewed could not be discouraged by their calamities ; for what would not those be able to bear if they should be fortunate, who turned their very misfortunes to the improvement of their valour ? These considerations made the Romans to keep a stronger guard about their banks than they formerly had done.

8. But now John and his party took care for securing themselves afterward even in case this wall should be thrown down, and fell to their work before the battering rams were brought against them. Yet did they not compass

what they endeavoured to do, but as they were gone out with their torches, they came back under great discouragement before they came near to the banks : and the reasons were these ; that in the first place their conduct did not seem to be unanimous, but they went out in distinct parties, and at distinct intervals, and after a slow manner, and timorously, and, to say all in one word, without a Jewish courage ; for they were now defective in what is peculiar to our nation that is, in boldness, in violence of assault, and in running upon the enemy altogether, and in persevering in what they go about, though they do not at first succeed in it ; but now they went out in a more languid manner than usual, and at the same time found the Romans set in array, and more courageous than ordinary, and that they guarded their banks both with their bodies and their entire armour, and this to such a degree on all sides, that they left no room for the fire to get among them, and that every one of their souls were in such good courage that they would sooner die than desert their ranks ; for besides their notion that all their hopes were cut off, in case these their works were once burnt, the soldiers were greatly ashamed that subtilty should be quite too hard for courage, madness for armour, multitude for skill, and Jews for Romans. The Romans had now also another advantage, in that their engines for sieges co-operated with them in throwing darts and stones as far as the Jews, when they were coming out of the city ; whereby the man that fell became an impediment to him that was next him, as did the danger of going farther make them less zealous in their attempts ; and for those that had run under the darts, some of them were terrified by the good order and closeness of the enemies' ranks before they came to a close fight, and others were pricked with their spears, and turned back again : at length they reproached one another for their cowardice, and retired without doing any thing. This attack was made upon the first day of the month Panemus, [Tamuz.] So when the Jews were retreated, the Romans brought their engines, although they had all the while stones thrown at them from the tower of Antonia, and were assaulted by fire and sword, and by all sorts of darts which necessity afforded the Jews to make use of ; for although these had great dependence on their own wall, and a contempt of the Roman engines, yet did they endeavour to hinder the Romans from bringing them.



Now these Romans struggled hard on the contrary, to bring them, as deeming that this zeal of the Jews was in order to avoid any impression to be made on the tower of Antonia, because its wall was but weak, and its foundations rotten. However, that tower did not yield to the blows given it from the engines; yet did the Romans bear the impressions made by the enemies' darts, which were perpetually cast at them, and did not give way to any of those dangers that came upon them from above, and so they brought their engines to bear. But then as they were beneath the other, and were sadly wounded by the stones thrown down upon them, some of them threw their shields over their bodies, and partly with their hands, and partly with their bodies, and partly with crows, they undermined its foundations, and with great pains they removed four of its stones. Then night came upon both sides, and put an end to this struggle for the present: however, that night the wall was so shaken by the battering rams in that place where John had used his stratagem before, and had undermined their banks, that the ground then gave way, and the wall fell down suddenly.

4. When this accident had unexpectedly happened, the minds of both parties were variously affected: for though one would expect that the Jews would be discouraged, because this fall of their wall was unexpected by them, and they had made no provision in that case, yet did they pull up their courage, because the tower of Antonia itself was still standing; as was the unexpected joy of the Romans at this fall of the wall soon quenched by the sight they had of another wall, which John and his party had built within it. However, the attack of this second wall appeared to be easier than that of the former, because it seemed a thing of greater facility to get up to it through the parts of the former wall that were now thrown down. This new wall appeared also to be much weaker than the tower of Antonia, and accordingly the Romans imagined that it had been erected so much on the sudden, that they should soon overthrow it; yet did not any body venture now to go up to this wall; for that such as first ventured to do so must certainly be killed.

5. And now Titus, upon consideration that the alacrity of soldiers in war is chiefly excited by hopes and by good words, and that exhortations and promises do frequently

make men to forget the hazards they run, nay, and sometimes to despise death itself, got together the most courageous part of his army, and tried what he could do with his men by these methods. "O fellow soldiers," said he, "to make an exhortation to men to do what hath no peril in it, is, on that very account, inglorious to such to whom that exhortation is made; and indeed so it is in him that makes the exhortation, an argument of his own cowardice also. I therefore think that such exhortations ought then only to be made use of when affairs are in a dangerous condition, and yet are worthy of being attempted by every one themselves: accordingly, I am fully of the same opinion with you, that it is a difficult task to go up this wall; but that it is proper for those that desire reputation for their valour to struggle with difficulties in such cases will then appear, when I have particularly shewed, that it is a brave thing to die with glory, and that the courage here necessary shall not go unrewarded in those that first begin the attempt. And, let my first argument to move you to it be taken from what probably some would think reasonable to dissuade you, I mean the constancy and patience of these Jews, even under their ill successes; for it is unbecoming you, who are Romans and my soldiers, who have in peace been taught how to make wars, and who have also been used to conquer in those wars, to be inferior to Jews either in action of the hand, or in courage of the soul, and this especially when you are at the conclusion of your victory, and are assisted by God himself; for, as to our misfortunes, they have been owing to the madness of the Jews, while their sufferings have been owing to your valour, and to the assistances God hath afforded you; for, as to the seditions they have been in, and the famine they are under, and the siege they now endure, and the fall of their walls without our engines, what can they all be but demonstration of God's anger against them, and of his assistance afforded us! It will not therefore be proper for you either to shew yourselves inferior to those to whom you are really superior, or to betray that divine assistance which is afforded you. And indeed, how can it be esteemed otherwise than a base and unworthy thing, that, while the Jews, who need not be much ashamed if they be deserted, because they have long learned to be slaves to others, do yet

“despise death, that they may be so no longer; and do  
 “make sallies into the very midst of us frequently, not in  
 “hopes of conquering us, but merely for a demonstration  
 “of their courage; we, who have gotten possession of al-  
 “most all the world that belongs to either land or sea, to  
 “whom it will be a great shame if we do not conquer them,  
 “do not once undertake any attempt against our enemies  
 “wherein there is much danger, but sit still idle, with  
 “such brave arms as we have, and only wait till the famine  
 “and fortune do our business themselves, and this, when we  
 “have it in our power, with some small hazard, to gain  
 “all that we desire. For, if we go up to this tower of An-  
 “tonia, we gain the city; for, if there should be any more  
 “occasion for fighting against those within the city, which  
 “I do not suppose there will, since we shall then be upon  
 “the top \* of the hill, and be upon our enemies before  
 “they can have taken breath, these advantages promise  
 “us no less than a certain and sudden victory. As for my-  
 “self, I shall at present wave any commendations of those  
 “who die in war,† and omit to speak of the immortality of  
 “those men who are slain in the midst of their martial bra-  
 “very; yet cannot I forbear to imprecate upon those who  
 “are of a contrary disposition, that they may die in time  
 “of peace, by some distemper or other, since their souls  
 “are condemned to the grave, together with their bodies.  
 “For, what man of virtue is there who does not know,  
 “that those souls which are severed from their fleshly bo-  
 “dies in battles by the sword, are received by the other,  
 “that purest of elements, and joined to that company which  
 “are placed among the stars; that they become good de-  
 “mons, and propitious heroes, and shew themselves as such  
 “to their posterity afterwards? While, upon those souls  
 “that wear away in and with their distempered bodies

\* Reland notes here, very pertinently, that the tower of Antonia stood higher than the floor of the temple, or court adjoining to it; and that accordingly they descended thence into the temple, as Josephus elsewhere speaks also. See B. vi. ch. ii. § 5.

† In this speech of Titus, we may clearly see the notions which the Romans then had of death, and of the happy state of those who died bravely in war, and the contrary estate of those who died ignobly in their beds by sickness. Reland here also produces two parallel passages, the one out of Ammianus Marcellinus, concerning the A'auli, lib. 31. That “they judged that man happy, who “laid down his life in battle.” The other of V. Ierinus Maximus, lib. xi. c. 6- who says that “the Cimbri and Celtiberi exulted “for joy in the army, as being to go out of the world gloriously and hap-  
 “pily.”

“ comes a subterranean night, to dissolve them to nothing,  
“ and a deep oblivion to take away all the remembrance of  
“ them, and this notwithstanding they be clean from all  
“ spots and defilements of this world ; so that, in this case,  
“ the soul at the same time comes to the utmost bounds of  
“ its life, and of its body, and of its memorial also. But,  
“ since fate hath determined that death is to come of neces-  
“ sity upon all men, a sword is a better instrument for that  
“ purpose than any disease whatsoever. Why is it not  
“ then a very mean thing for us not to yield up that to the  
“ public benefit, which we must yield up to fate ! and this  
“ discourse have I made upon the supposition that those  
“ who first attempt to go upon this wall must needs be kil-  
“ led in the attempt, though still men of true courage have  
“ a chance to escape, even in the most hazardous underta-  
“ kings. For, in the first place, that part of the former  
“ wall that is thrown down is easily to be ascended, and,  
“ for the new-built wall, it is easily destroyed. Do you,  
“ therefore, many of you, pull up your courage, and set  
“ about this work, and do you mutually encourage, and as-  
“ sist one another ; and this your bravery will soon break  
“ the hearts of your enemies ; and perhaps such a glorious  
“ undertaking as yours is may be accomplished without  
“ blood-shed. For, although it be justly to be supposed,  
“ that the Jews will try to hinder you at your first begin-  
“ ning, to go up to them, yet when you have once conceal-  
“ ed yourselves from them, and driven them away by force,  
“ they will not be able to sustain your efforts against them  
“ any longer, though but a few of you prevent them, and  
“ get over the wall. As for that person who first mounts  
“ the wall, I should blush for shame, if I did not make him to  
“ be envied of others, by those rewards I would bestow upon  
“ him. If such an one escape with his life, he shall have  
“ the command of others that are now but his equals ; al-  
“ though it be true also, that the greatest \* rewards will  
“ accrue to such as die in the attempt.”

6. Upon this speech of Titus, the rest of the multitude were affrighted at so great a danger. But there was one whose name was *Sabinus*, a soldier that served among the cohorts, and a Syrian by birth, who appeared to be of very great fortitude, both in the actions he had done, and the

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\* See note, p. 64.

courage of his soul he had shewed; although any body would have thought before he came to his work, that he was of such a weak constitution of body, that he was not fit to be a soldier: for his colour was black his flesh was lean and thin, and lay close together; but there was a certain heroic soul that dwelt in this small body, which body was indeed much too narrow for that peculiar courage which was in him.—Accordingly he was the first that rose up, when he thus spake: “I readily surrender up myself to thee O Cæsar! I first ascend the wall, and I heartily wish that my fortune may follow my courage and my resolution. And if some ill fortune grudge me the success of my undertaking, take notice that my ill success will not be unexpected, but that I choose death voluntarily for thy sake.” When he had said this, and had spread out his shield over his head with his left hand, and had, with his right hand, drawn his sword, he marched up to the wall just about the sixth hour of the day. There followed him eleven others, and no more, that resolved to imitate his bravery; but still this was the principal person of them all, and went first as excited by a divine fury. Now, those that guarded the wall shot at them from thence, and cast innumerable darts upon them from every side; they also rolled very large stones upon them, which overthrew some of those eleven that were with him. But, as for Sabinus himself, he met the darts that were cast at him, and though he were overwhelmed with them, yet did he not leave off the violence of his attack before he had gotten up on the top of the wall, and had put the enemy to flight. For, as the Jews were astonished at his great strength, and the bravery of his soul, and as, withal, they imagined more of them had got upon the wall than really had, they were put to flight. And now, one cannot but complain here of fortune, as still envious at virtue, and always hindering the performance of glorious achievements: this was the case of the man before us, when he had just obtained his purpose, for he then stumbled at a certain large stone and fell down upon it head-long, with a very great noise. Upon which the Jews turned back and when they saw him to be alone, and fallen down also, they threw darts at him from every side. However, he got upon his knee, and covered himself with his shield, and at the first defended himself against them, and wounded many of those that came near him; but, he was soon forced to relax

his right hand, by the multitude of the wounds that had been given him, till, at length, he was quite covered over with darts, before he gave up the ghost. He was one who deserved a better fate, by reason of his bravery; but, as might be expected, he fell under so vast an attempt. As for the rest of his partners, the Jews dashed three of them to pieces with stones, and slew them, as they were gotten up to the top of the wall; the other eight being wounded, were pulled down, and carried back to the camp. These things were done upon the third day of the month Panemus [T'Amuz.]

7. Now, two days afterward, twelve of those men that were on the forefront, and kept watch upon the banks, got together, and called to them the standard-bearer of the fifth legion, and two others of a troop of horsemen, and one trumpeter: these went without noise, about the ninth hour of the night, through the ruins, to the tower of Antonia; and when they had cut the throats of the first guards of the place, as they were asleep, they got possession of the wall, and ordered the trumpeter to sound his trumpet. Upon which, the rest of the guard got up on the sudden, and ran away, before any body could see how many they were that were gotten up; for, partly from the fear, they were in, and partly from the sound of the trumpet which they heard, they imagined a great number of the enemy were gotten up. But, as soon as Cæsar heard the signal, he ordered the army to put on their armour immediately, and came thither with his commanders, and first of all ascended, as did the chosen men that were with him. And, as the Jews were flying away to the temple, they fell into that mine which John had dug under the Roman banks. Then did the seditious of both the bodies of the Jewish army, as well that belonging to John, as that belonging to Simon, drive them away; and, indeed, were no way wanting as to the highest degree of force and alacrity: for they esteemed themselves entirely ruined if once the Romans got into the temple, as did the Romans look upon the same thing as the beginning of their entire conquest.—So a terrible battle was fought at the entrance of the temple, while the Romans were forcing their way, in order to get possession of that temple, and the Jews were driving them back to the tower of Antonia; in which battle, the darts were on both sides useless, as well as the spears, and both sides

drew their swords, and fought it out hand to hand. Now, during this struggle, the positions of the men were undistinguished on both sides, and they fought at random, the men being intermixed one with another, and confounded, by reason of the narrowness of the place ; while the noise that was made fell on the ear after an indistinct manner, because it was so very loud. Great slaughter was now made on both sides, and the combatants trode upon the bodies, and the armour of those that were dead, and dashed them to pieces. Accordingly, to which side soever the battle inclined, those that had the advantage exhorted one another to go on, as did those that were beaten make great lamentation. But still there was no room for flight, nor for pursuit, but disorderly revolutions and retreats, while the armies were intermixed one with another ; but those that were in the first ranks were under the necessity of killing or being killed, without any way for escaping ; for those on both sides that came behind, forced those before them to go on without leaving any space between the armies. At length, the Jews' violent zeal was too hard for the Roman skill, and the battle already inclined entirely that way ; for the fight had lasted from the ninth hour of the night, till the seventh hour of the day, while the Jews came on in crowds, and had the danger the temple was in for their motive ; the Romans having no more here than a part of their army ; for those legions on which the soldiers on that side depended, had not come up to them. So it was at present thought sufficient by the Romans to take possession of the tower of Antonia.

8. But there was one Julian, a centurion, that came from Bithynia, a man he was of great reputation, whom I had formerly seen in that war, and one of the highest fame, both for his skill in war, his strength of body, and the courage of his soul. This man, seeing the Romans giving ground, and in a sad condition, for he stood by Titus at the tower of Antonia, leaped out, and of himself alone put the Jews to flight, when they were already conquerors, and made them retire as far as the corner of the inner court of the temple : from him the multitude fled away in crowds, as supposing that neither his strength nor his violent attacks could be those of a mere man. Accordingly he rushed through the midst of the Jews, as they were dispersed all abroad, and killed those that he caught. Nor indeed was

there any sight that appeared more wonderful in the eyes of Cæsar, or more terrible to others, than this. However, he was himself pursued by fate, which it was not possible that he, who was but a mortal man, should escape; for, as he had shoes \* all full of thick and sharp nails as had every one of the other soldiers, so when he ran on the pavement of the temple, he slipped, and fell down upon his back with a very great noise, which was made by his armour. This made those that were running away to turn back; whereupon those Romans that were in the tower of Antonia set up a great shout as they were in fear for the man. But the Jews got about him in crowds, and struck at him with their spears and with their swords on all sides. Now, he received a great many of the strokes of these iron-weapons upon his shield and often attempted to get up again, but was thrown down by those that struck at him; yet did he, as he lay along, stab many of them with his sword. Nor was he soon killed, as being covered with his helmet and his breast-plate in all those parts of his body where he might be mortally wounded; he also pulled his neck close to his body, till all his other limbs were shattered, and nobody durst come to defend him, and then he yielded to his fate. Now, Cæsar was deeply affected on account of this man of so great fortitude, and especially as he was killed in the sight of so many people; he was desirous himself to come to his assistance, but the place would not give him leave, while such as could have done it, were too much terrified to attempt it. Thus, when Julian had struggled with death a great while, and had let but few of those that had given him his mortal wound go off unhurt, he had at last his throat cut, though not without some difficulty, and left behind him a very great fame, not only among the Romans and with Cæsar himself, but among his enemies also; then did the Jews catch up his dead body, and put the Romans to flight again, and shut them up in the tower of Antonia. Now, those that most signalized themselves, and fought most zealously in this battle of the Jewish side, were one Alexas and Gyptheus of John's party, and of Simon's party were Malachias, and Judas the son of Merto, and James the son of Sosas, the commander of the

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\* No wonder that this Julian, who had so many nails in his shoes, slipped upon the pavement of the temple, which was smooth, and laid with marble of different colours.



Idumeans; and of the Zealots, two brethren, Simon and Judas, the sons of Jairus.

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## CHAP. II.

How Titus gave orders to demolish the tower of Antonia, and then persuaded Josephus to exhort the Jews again [to a surrender.]

§ 1. AND now Titus gave order to his soldiers that were with him to dig up the foundations of the tower of Antonia, and make him a ready passage for his army to come up; while he himself had Josephus brought to him, (for he had been informed that on that very day, which was the seventeenth \* day of Panemus, [Tamuz,] the sacrifice called the *daily sacrifice* had failed, and had not been offered to God, for want of men to offer it, and that the people were grievously troubled at it) and commanded him to say the same things to John that he had said before, That, "if he had any malicious inclination for fighting, he might come out with as many of his men as he pleased, in order to fight, without the danger of destroying either his city or temple; but that he desired he would not defile the temple, nor thereby offend against God. That he might, if he pleased, offer the sacrifices which were now discontinued, by any of the Jews whom he should pitch upon." Upon this, Josephus stood in such a place where he might be heard, not by John only, but by many more, and then declared to them what Cæsar had given him in charge, and this in the Hebrew language.† So he earnestly prayed them, "To spare their own city, and to prevent that fire which was just ready to seize upon the temple, and to offer their usual sacrifices to God therein." At these words of his a great sadness and silence were observed

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\* This was a remarkable day indeed, the 17th of Panemus, [Tamuz] A. D. 70, when, according to Daniel's prediction, 606 years before, the Romans, in half a week caused the sacrifice and oblation to cease, Dan. ix. 27. For, from the month of February, A. D. 66, about which time Vespasian entered on this war, to this very time was just three years and a half; see Bp. Lloyd's Tables of Chronology, published by Mr. Marshall, on this year. Nor is it to be omitted what very nearly confirms this duration of the war, that four years before the war began, was somewhat above seven years five months before the destruction of Jerusalem, ch. 5. § 3.

† The same that in the New Testament is always so called, and was then the common language of the Jews in Judea, which was the Syriac dialect.

among the people. But the tyrant himself cast many reproaches upon Josephus, with imprecations besides; and at last added this withal "That he did never fear the taking of the city, because it was God's own city." In answer to which, Josephus said thus with a loud voice, "To be sure thou hast kept this city wonderful pure for God's sake; the temple also continues entirely unpolluted! Nor hast thou been guilty of any impiety against him for whose assistance thou hopest! He still receives his accustomed sacrifices! Vile wretch that thou art! If any one should deprive thee of thy daily food, thou wouldst esteem him to be an enemy to thee; but thou hopest to have that God for thy supporter in this war, whom thou hast deprived of his everlasting worship: and thou imputest those sins to the Romans, who, to this very time, take care to have our laws observed, and almost compel these sacrifices to be still offered to God, which have by thy means been intermitted. Who is there that can avoid groans and lamentations, at the amazing change that is made in this city? since very foreigners and enemies do now correct that impiety which thou hast occasioned; while thou who art a Jew, and wast educated in our laws, art become a greater enemy to them than the others. But still, John, it is never dishonorable to repent, and amend what hath been done amiss even at the last extremity. Thou hast an instance before thee in Jechoniah,\* the king of the Jews, if thou hast a mind to save the city, who, when the king of Babylon made war against him, did, of his own accord, go out of this city before it was taken, and did undergo a voluntary captivity, with his family, that the sanctuary might not be delivered up to the enemy, and that he might not see the house of God set on fire; on which account he is celebrated among all the Jews, in their sacred memorials, and his memory is become immortal, and will be conveyed fresh down to our posterity through all ages. This, John, is an excellent example in such a time of danger; and I dare venture to promise, that the Romans shall still forgive thee. And take notice, that I who make this exhortation to thee, am one of thine own nation; I, who am a Jew, do make this promise to thee. And it will become thee to consider

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\* Our present copies of the Old Testament want this encomium upon king Jechoniah or Jehoiachin, which it seems was in Josephus's copy.

“ who I am that give thee this counsel, and whence I am derived: for while I am alive I shall never be in such slavery, as to forego my own kindred, or forget the laws of our forefathers. Thou hast indignation at me again and makest a clamour at me and reproachest me; indeed I cannot deny but I am worthy of worse treatment than all this amounts to, because, in opposition to fate I make this kind invitation to thee, and endeavour to force deliverance upon those whom God hath condemned. And who is there that does not know what the writings of the ancient prophets contain in them? and particularly that oracle \* which is just now going to be fulfilled upon this miserable city? For they foretold that this city should be then taken, when somebody shall begin the slaughter of his own countrymen. And, are not both the city and the entire temple now full of the dead bodies of your countrymen? It is God, † therefore, it is God himself who is bringing on this fire to purge that city and temple by means of the Romans, and is going to pluck up this city, which is full of your pollutions.”

2. As Josephus spake these words, with groans and tears in his eyes, his voice was intercepted by sobs. However, the Romans could not but pity the affliction he was under, and wonder at his conduct. But, for John, and those that were with him, they were but the more exasperated against the Romans on this account, and were desirous to get Josephus also into their power: yet did that discourse influence a great many of the better sort; and truly some of them were so afraid of the guards set by the seditious, that they tarried where they were, but still were satisfied that both they and their city were doomed to destruction. Some also there were, who, watching a proper opportunity, when they might quietly get away fled to the Romans, of whom were the high-priests Joseph and Jesus, and of the sons of high-priests three, whose father was Ishmael, who was beheaded in Cyrene, and four

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\* Of this oracle, see the note on B. iv. ch. vi. § 3

† Josephus, both here and in many places elsewhere, speaks so, that it is most evident he was fully satisfied, that God was on the Romans' side, and made use of them now for the destruction of that wicked nation of the Jews, which was for certain, the true state of this matter, as the prophet Daniel first, and our Saviour himself afterwards, had clearly foretold. See Lit. Accompl. of Proph. p. 64, &c.

sons of Matthias. as also one son of the other Matthias, who ranaway \* after his father's death, whose father was slain by Simon, the son of Gioras, with three of his sons, as I have already related; many also of the other nobility went over to the Romans together with the high-priests. Now Cæsar not only received these men very kindly in other respects, but, knowing they would not willingly live after the customs of other nations, he sent them to Gophna, and desired them to remain there for the present, and told them, that when he was gotten clear of this war, he would restore each of them to their possessions again: so they cheerfully retired to that small city which was allotted them, without fear of any danger. But as they did not appear, the seditious gave out again, that these deserters were slain by the Romans, which was done in order to deter the rest from running away, by fear of the like treatment. This trick of theirs succeeded now for a while as did the like trick before; for the rest were hereby deterred from deserting by fear of the like treatment.

3. However, when Titus had recalled those men from Gophna, he gave orders that they should go round the wall together with Josephus, and shew themselves to the people; upon which a great many fled to the Romans. These men also got in a great number together, and stood before the Romans, and besought the seditious, with groans, and tears in their eyes, in the first place, to receive the Romans entirely into the city, and save that their own place of residence again; but that, if they would not agree to such a proposal, they would at least depart out of the temple, and save the holy house for their own use; for that the Romans would not venture to set the sanctuary on fire, but under the most pressing necessity. Yet did the seditious still more and more contradict them; and while they cast loud and bitter reproaches upon these deserters, they also set their engines for throwing of darts, and Javelins, and stones, upon the sacred gates of the temple, at due distances from one another, insomuch, that all the space round about, within the temple, might be compared to a burying-

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\* Josephus had before told us, B. v. ch. xiii § 1, vol. vi. that this fourth son of Matthias ranaway to the Romans *before* his father's and brethren's slaughter, and not *after* it, as here. The former account is, in all probability, the truest; for had not that fourth son escaped before the others were caught and put to death, he had been caught and put to death with them. This last account therefore looks like an instance of a small inadvertence of Josephus in the place before us.

ground, so great was the number of the dead bodies therein: as might the holy house itself be compared to a citadel. Accordingly, these men rushed upon these holy places in their armour, that were otherwise unapproachable, and that while their hands were yet warm with the blood of their own people, which they had shed: nay, they proceeded to such great transgressions that the very same indignation which Jews would naturally have against Romans, had they been guilty of such abuses against them, the Romans had now against Jews, for their impiety in regard to their own religious customs. Nay, indeed, there were none of the Roman soldiers who did not look with a sacred horror upon the holy house, and adored it, and wished that the robbers would repent before their miseries became incurable.

3. Now, Titus was deeply affected with this state of things, and reproached John and his party, and said to them, "Have not you, vile wretches that you are, by our permission put up this partition-wall \* before your sanctuary? Have not you been allowed to put up the pillars thereto belonging at due distances, and on it to engrave in Greek and in your own letters, this prohibition, 'That no foreigner should go beyond that wall?' Have not we given you leave to kill such as go beyond it, though he were a Roman? And what do you do now, you pernicious villians? Why do you trample upon dead bodies in this temple? and why do you pollute this holy house with the blood of both foreigners and Jews themselves? I appeal to the gods of my own country, and to every god that ever had any regard to this place; (for I do not suppose it to be now regarded by any of them); I also appeal to my own army, and to those Jews that are now with me and even to you yourselves, that I do not force you to defile this your sanctuary; and if you will but change the place whereon you will fight, no Roman shall either come near your sanctuary, or offer any affront to it; nay, I will endeavour to preserve you your holy house whether you will or no."†

5. As Josephus explained these things from the mouth

\* Of this partition-wall, separating Jews and Gentiles, with its pillars and inscription, see the description of the temples, ch. xv,

† That these seditious Jews were the direct occasions of their own destruction, and of the conflagration of their city and temple, and that Titus earnestly and constantly laboured to save both, is here and every where most evident in Josephus.

of Cæsar, both the robbers and the tyrant thought that these exhortations proceeded from Titus's fear, and not from his good will to them, and grew insolent upon it. But when Titus saw that these men were neither to be moved by commiseration towards themselves, nor had any concern upon them to have the holy house spared, he proceeded unwillingly to go on with the war again against them. He could not indeed bring all his army against them, the place was so narrow; but choosing thirty soldiers of the most valiant out of every hundred, and committing a thousand to each tribune, and making Cerealis their commander in chief, he gave orders that they should attack the guards of the temple about the ninth hour of that night. But as he was now in his armour, and preparing to go down with them, his friends would not let him go, by reason of the greatness of the danger, and what the commanders suggested to them; for they said, That "he would do more by sitting above in the tower of Antonia, as a dispenser of rewards to those soldiers that signalized themselves in the fight, than by coming down, and hazarding his own person in the forefront of them; for that they would all fight stoutly, while Cæsar looked upon them." With this advice Cæsar complied, and said, That "the only reason he had for such compliance with the soldiers was this, that he might be able to judge of their courageous actions, and that no valiant soldier might lie concealed, and miss of his reward, and no cowardly soldier might go unpunished; but that he might himself be an eye witness, and able to give evidence of all that was done, who was to be the disposer of punishments and rewards to them." So he sent the soldiers about their work at the hour forementioned, while he went out himself to an higher place in the tower of Antonia, whence he might see what was done and there waited with impatience to see the event.

6. However, the soldiers that were sent did not find the guards of the temple asleep, as they hoped to have done, but were obliged to fight with them immediately hand to hand, as they rushed with violence upon them with a great shout. Now, as soon as the rest within the temple heard that shout of those that were upon the watch, they ran out in troops upon them. Then did the Romans receive the onset of those that came first upon them; but those that followed them fell upon their own troops and many of them

treated their own soldiers as if they had been enemies ; for the great confused noise that was made on both sides hindered them from distinguishing one another's voices, as did the darkness of the night hinder them from the like distinction by the sight ; besides that blindness which arose otherwise also from the passion and the fear they were in at the same time ; for which reason it was all one to the soldiers who it was they struck at. However, this ignorance did less harm to the Romans than to the Jews, because they were joined together under their shields, and made their sallies more regularly than the others did, and each of them remembered their watch word ; while the Jews were perpetually dispersed abroad, and made their attacks and retreats at random, and so did frequently seem to one another to be enemies ; for every one of them received those of their own men that came back in the dark as Romans, and made an assault upon them ; so that more of them were wounded by their own men than by the enemy, till, upon the coming on of the day, the nature of the fight was discerned by the eye afterward. Then did they stand in battle array in distinct bodies, and cast their darts regularly, and regularly defended themselves. Nor did either side yield or grow weary. The Romans contended with each other who should fight the most strenuously, both single men and entire regiments, as being under the eye of Titus ; and every one concluded that this day would begin his promotion, if he fought bravely. What were the great encouragements of the Jews to act vigorously were, their fear for themselves and for the temple, and the presence of their tyrant, who exhorted some, and beat and threatened others, to act courageously. Now, it so happened, that this fight was for the most part a stationary one, wherein the soldiers went on and came back in a short time and suddenly ; for there was no long space of ground for either of their flights or pursuits. But still there was a tumultuous noise among the Romans from the tower of Antonia, who loudly cried out upon all occasions to their own men, to press on courageously, when they were too hard for the Jews, and to stay, when they were retiring backward ; so that here was a kind of theatre of war ; for what was done in this fight could not be concealed either from Titus or from those that were about him. At length it appeared that this fight, which began at the ninth hour of the night, was not over

till past the fifth hour of the day, and that in the same place where the battle began, neither party could say they had made the other to retire; but both the armies left the victory almost in uncertainty between them; wherein those that signalized themselves on the Roman side were a great many, but on the Jewish side, and of those that were with Simon, Judas the son of Merto, and Simon the son of Josas; of the Idumeans, James and Simon, the latter of whom was the son of Cathlas, and James was the son of Sosas; of those that were with John, Gyphtheus and Alexas, and of the Zealots, Simon the son of Jairus.

7. In the mean time, the rest of the Roman army had in seven days time, overthrown [some] foundations of the tower of Antonia, and had made a ready and broad way to the temple. Then did the legions come near the first court, \* and began to raise their banks. The one bank was over-against the north-west corner of the inner temple; † another was at that northern edifice which was between the two gates: of the other two, one was at the western cloister of the outer court \* of the temple; the other against its northern cloister. However, these works were thus far advanced by the Romans, not without great pains and difficulty, and particularly by being obliged to bring their materials from the distance of an hundred furlongs. They had farther difficulties also upon them; sometimes by their over-great security they were in that they should overcome the Jewish snares laid for them, and by that boldness of the Jews which their despair of escaping had inspired them withal; for some of their horsemen, when they went out to gather wood or hay, let their horses feed, without having their bridles on, during the time of foraging; upon which horses the Jews sallied out in whole bodies, and seized them. And when this was continually done, and Cæsar believed, what the truth was, that the horses where stolen more by the negligence of his own men, than by the valour of the Jews, he determined to use greater severity to oblige the rest to take care of their horses: so he commanded that one of those soldiers who had lost their horses should be capital-ly punished; whereby he so terrified the rest, that they preserved their horses for the time to come; for they did not any longer let them go from them to feed by themselves

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\* Court of the Gentiles.

† Court of Israel.



but as if they had grown to them, they went always along with them when they wanted necessaries. Thus did the Romans still continue to make war against the temple, and to raise their banks against it.

8. Now, after one day had been interposed since the Romans ascended the breach, many of the seditious were so pressed by the famine upon the present failure of their ravages, that they got together, and made an attack on those Roman guards that were upon the mount of Olives, and this about the eleventh hour of the day, as supposing first that they would not expect such an onset, and in the next place, that they were then taking care of their bodies, and that therefore they should easily beat them. But the Romans were apprised of their coming to attack them beforehand, and running together from the neighbouring camps on the sudden, prevented them from getting over their fortifications, or forcing the wall that was built about them. Upon this came on a sharp fight, and here many great actions were performed on both sides ; while the Romans shewed both their courage and their skill in war, as did the Jews come on them with immoderate violence, and intolerable passion. The one part were urged on by shame, and the other by necessity ; for it seemed a very shameful thing to the Romans to let the Jews go, now they were taking in a kind of net ; while the Jews had but one hope of saving themselves, and that was in case they could by violence break through the Roman wall ; and one, whose name was *Pedanius*, belonging to a party of horsemen, when the Jews were already beaten and forced down into the valley together, spurred his horse on their flank with great vehemence, and caught up a certain young man belonging to the enemy by his ankle, as he was running away. The man was, whowever, of a robust body, and in his armour ; so low did Pedanius bend himself downward from his horse, even as he was galloping away ; and so great was the strength of his right hand, and of the rest of his body, as also such skill had he in horsemanship. So this man seized upon that his prey as upon a precious treasure, and carried him as his captive to Cæsar ; whereupon Titus admired the man that had seized the other. for his great strength, and ordered the man that was caught to be punished [with death] for his attempt against the Roman wall, but betook

himself to the siege of the temple, and to pressing on the raising of the banks.

9. In the mean time, the Jews were so distressed by the fights they had been in, as the war advanced higher and higher, and creeping up to the holy house itself, that they as it were, cut off those limbs of their bodies which were infected, in order to prevent the distemper's spreading farther; for they set the north-west cloister, which was joined to the tower of Antonia, on fire, and after that, break off about twenty cubits of that cloister, and thereby made a beginning in burning the sanctuary: two days after which, or on the twenty fourth day of the forenamed month, [Panemus or Tamuz], the Romans set fire to the cloister that joined to the other, when the fire went fifteen cubits farther. The Jews, in like manner, cut off its roof nor did they entirely leave off what they were about till the tower of Antonia was parted from the temple, even when it was in their power to have stopped the fire; nay, they lay still while the temple was first set on fire, and deemed this spreading of the fire to be for their own advantage. However, the armies were still fighting one against another about the temple, and the war was managed by continual sallies of particular parties against one another.

10. Now there was at this time a man among the Jews; low of stature he was, and of a despicable appearance; of no character either as to his family, or in other respects; his name was *Jonathan*. He went out at the high-priest John's monument, and uttered many other insolent things to the Romans, and challenged the best of them all to a single combat. But many of those that stood there in the army huffed him, and many of them (as they might well be) were afraid of him. Some of them also reasoned thus, and that justly enough, that it was not fit to fight with a man that desired to die, because those that utterly despaired of deliverance had, besides other passions, a violence in attacking men that could not be opposed, and had no regard to God himself; and that to hazard one's self with a person, whom if you overcome, you do no great matter, and by whom it is hazardous that you may be taken prisoner, would be an instance not of manly courage, but of unmanly rashness. So there being nobody that came out to accept the man's challenge, and the Jew cutting them with a great number of reproaches, as cowards, (for he was a very

haughty man in himself, and a great despiser of the Romans,) one whose name was *Pudens*, of the body of horsemen, out of his abomination of the other's words, and of his impudence withal, and perhaps out of an inconsiderate arrogance, on account of the other's lowness of stature, ran out to him, and was too hard for him in other respects, but was betrayed by his ill-fortune; for he fell down, and as he was down, Jonathan came running to him, and cut his throat, and then standing upon his dead body, he brandished his sword, bloody as it was, and shook his shield with his left hand, and made many acclamations to the Roman army, and insulted over the dead man, and jested upon the Romans; till at length one *Priscus*, a centurion, shot a dart at him, as he was leaping and playing the fool with himself, and thereby pierced him through; upon which a shout was set up both by the Jews and the Romans, though on different accounts. So Jonathan grew giddy by the pain of his wounds, and fell down upon the body of his adversary, as a plain instance how suddenly vengeance may come upon men that have success in war, without any just deserving the same.

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### CHAP. III.

Concerning a stratagem that was devised by the Jews, by which they burnt many of the Romans; with another description of the terrible famine that was in the city.

§ 1. BUT now the seditious that were in the temple did every day openly endeavour to beat off the soldiers that were upon the banks, and on the twenty-seventh day of the forenamed month [*Panemus* or *Tamuz*] contrived such a stratagem as this: They filled that part of the western cloister\* which was between the beams, and the roof under them, with dry materials, as also with bitumen and pitch and then retired from that place, as though they were tired with the pains they had taken; at which procedure of theirs, many of the most inconsiderate among the Romans, who were carried away with violent passions, followed hard after them as they were retiring, and applied ladders to the

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\* Of the Court of the Gentiles.

cloister, and got up to it suddenly ; but the pruder part of them, when they understood this unaccountable retreat of the Jews, stood still where they were before. However, the cloister was full of those that were gone up the ladders ; at which time the Jews set it all on fire ; and as the flame burst out every where on the sudden the Romans that were out of the danger were seized with a very great consternation, as were those that were in the midst of the danger in the utmost distress. So when they perceived themselves surrounded with flames, some of them threw themselves down backwards into the city, and some among their enemies [in the temple] ; as did many leap down to their own men, and broke their limbs to pieces : but a great number of those that were going to take these violent methods, were prevented by the fire ; though some prevented the fire by their own swords. However, the fire was on the sudden carried so far as to surround those who would have otherwise perished. As for Cæsar himself, he could not, however, but commiserate those that thus perished, although they got up thither without any order for so doing, since there was no way of giving them any relief. Yet was this some comfort to those that were destroyed, that every body might see that person grieve, for whose sake they came to their end ; for he cried out openly to them, and leaped up, and exhorted those that were about them to do their utmost to relieve them. So every one of them died cheerfully, as carrying along with him these words, and this intention of Cæsar, as a sepulchral monument. Some there were indeed who retired into the wall of the cloister, which was broad, and were preserved out of the fire, but were then surrounded by the Jews ; and although they made resistance against the Jews for a long time, yet were they wounded by them, and at length they all fell down dead.

2. At the last, a young man among them, whose name was *Longus*, became a decoration to this sad affair, and while every one of them that perished were worthy of a memorial, this man appeared to deserve it beyond all the rest. Now the Jews admired this man for his courage, and were farther desirous of having him slain : so they persuaded him to come down to them, upon security given him for his life. But Cornelius his brother persuaded him on the contrary, not to tarnish their own glory, nor that of the Roman army. He complied with this last advice, and lifting up his sword

before both armies, he slew himself. Yet was there one Artorius among those surrounded with the fire, who escaped by his subtilty; for when he had with a loud voice called to him Lucius, one of his fellow soldiers that lay with him in the same tent, and said to him, "I do leave thee heir of all I have, if thou wilt come and receive me." Upon this he came running to receive him readily: Artorius then threw himself down upon him, and saved his own life, while he that received him was dashed so vehemently against the stone pavement by the other's weight, that he died immediately. This melancholy accident made the Romans sad for a while, but still it made them more upon their guard for the future, and was of advantage to them against the delusions of the Jews, by which they were greatly damaged, through their unacquaintedness with the places, and with the nature of the inhabitants. Now this cloister was burnt down as far as John's tower, which he built in the war he made against Simon, over the gates that led to the Xystus. The Jews also cut off the rest of that cloister from the temple, after they had destroyed those that got up to it. But the next day the Romans burnt down the northern cloister entirely as far as the east cloister whose common angle joined to the valley that was called *Cedron*, and was built over it; on which account the depth was frightful. And this was the state of the temple at that time.

3. Now, of those that perished by famine in the city, the number was prodigious, and the miseries they underwent were unspeakable; for if so much as the shadow of any kind of food did any where appear, a war was commenced presently, and the dearest friends fell a fighting one with another about it, snatching from each other the most miserable supports of life. Nor would men believe that those who were dying had no food, but the robbers would search them when they were expiring, lest any one should have concealed food in their bosoms, and counterfeited dying: nay, these robbers gaped for want, and ran about stumbling and staggering along like mad dogs, and reeling against the doors of the houses like drunken men; they would also, in the great distress they were in, rush into the very same houses two or three times in one and the same day. Moreover, their hunger was so intolerable, that it obliged them to chew every thing, while they gathered such things as the most

sordid animals would not touch, and endured to eat them; nor did they, at length, abstain from girdles and shoes, and the very leather which belonged to their shields they pulled off and gnawed; the very wisps of old hay became food to some, and some gathered up fibres, and sold a very small weight of them for four Attic [drachmæ]. But why do I describe the shameless impudence that the famine brought on men in their eating inanimate things? while I am going to relate a matter of fact, the like of which no history relates, \* either among the Greeks or barbarians. It is horrible to speak of it, and incredible when heard. I had indeed willingly omitted this calamity of ours, that I might not seem to deliver what is so portentous to posterity, but that I have innumerable witnesses to it in my own age; and, besides, my country would have had little reason to thank me for suppressing the miseries that she underwent at this time.

4. There was a certain woman that dwelt beyond Jordan, her name was *Mary*; her father was Eleazer, of the village Bethzub, which signifies *the House of Hyssop*. She was eminent for her family and her wealth, and had fled away to Jerusalem with the rest of the multitude, and was with them besieged therein at this time. The other effects of this woman had already been seized upon, such I mean as she had brought with her out of Perea, and removed to the city. What she had treasured up besides, as also what food she had contrived to save, had been also carried off by the rapacious guards, who came every day running into her house for that purpose. This put the poor woman into a very great passion and by the frequent reproaches and imprecations she cast at these rapacious

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\* What Josephus observes here, that no parallel examples had been recorded before this time of such sieges, wherein mothers were forced by extremity of famine, to eat their own children, as had been threatened to the Jews, in the law of Moses, upon obstinate disobedience, and more than once fulfilled, (see my Boyle's Lectures, p. 210—214), is by Dr. Hudson supposed to have had two or three parallel-examples in later ages. He might have had more examples, I suppose, of persons on ship-board, or in a desert island, casting lots for each other's bodies. But all this was only in cases where they knew of no possible way to avoid death themselves but by killing and eating others. Whether such examples come up to the present case may be doubted. The Romans were not only willing but very desirous to grant those Jews in Jerusalem both their lives and their liberties, and to save both their city and their temple. But the Zealots, the robbers, and the seditious, would hearken to no terms of submission. They voluntarily chose to reduce the citizens to that extremity, as to force mothers to this unnatural barbarity, which, in all its circumstances, has not, I still suppose, been hitherto paralleled among the rest of mankind,

villians, she had provoked them to anger against her; but none of them, either out of the indignation she had raised against herself, or out of commiseration of her case, would take away her life: and if she found any food, she perceived her labours were for others and not for herself: and it was now become impossible for her any way to find any more food, while the famine pierced through her very bowels and marrow, when also her passion was fired to a degree beyond the famine itself: nor did she consult with any thing but with her passion and the necessity she was in. She then attempted a most unnatural thing, and snatching up her son, who was a child sucking at her breast, she said, "O thou miserable infant! for whom shall I preserve thee in this war, this famine, and this sedition? As to the war with the Romans, if they preserve our lives we must be slaves. This famine also will destroy us even before that slavery comes upon us. Yet are these seditious rogues more terrible than both the other. Come on; be thou my food, and be thou a fury to these seditious varlets, and a by-word to the world; which is all that is now wanting to complete the calamities of us Jews." As soon as she had said this, she slew her son, and then roasted him, and eat the one half of him, and kept the other half by her, concealed. Upon this the seditious came in presently, and smelling the horrid scent of this food, they threatened her, that they would cut her throat immediately, if she did not shew them what food she had gotten ready. She replied, That "she had saved a very fine portion of it for them;" and withal uncovered what was left of her son. Hereupon they were seized with an horror and amazement of mind, and stood astonishment at the sight, when she said to them, "This is mine own son, and what hath been done was mine own doing. Come, eat of this food, for I have eaten of it myself. Do not you pretend to be either more tender than a woman, or more compassionate than a mother: but if you be so scrupulous, and do abominate this my sacrifice, as I have eaten the one half, let the rest be served for me also." After which, those men went out trembling, being never so much affrighted at any thing as they were at this, and with some difficulty they left the rest of that meat to the mother. Upon which the whole city was full of this horrid action immediately; and while every

body laid this miserable case before their own eyes, they trembled, as if this unheard-of action had been done by themselves. So those that were thus distressed by the famine were very desirous to die, and those already dead were esteemed happy, because they had not lived long enough either to hear or to see such miseries.

5. This sad instance was quickly told to the Romans, some of which could not believe it, and others pitied the distress which the Jews were under; but there were many of them who were hereby induced to a more bitter hatred than ordinary against our nation. But for Cæsar, he excused himself before God as to this matter, and said, That "he had proposed peace and liberty to the Jews, as well as an oblivion of all their former insolent practices, but that they, instead of concord, had chosen sedition; instead of peace, war; and, before satiety and abundance, a famine. That they had begun with their own hands to burn down that temple, which we have preserved hitherto: and that, therefore, they deserved to eat such food as this was. That, however, this horrid action of eating an own child ought to be covered with the overthrow of their very country itself, and men ought not to leave such a city upon the habitable earth, to be seen by the sun, wherein mothers are thus fed, although such food be fitter for the fathers than for the mothers to eat of, since it is they that continue still in a state of war against us, after they have undergone such miseries as these." And at the same time that he said this, he reflected on the desperate condition these men must be in; nor could he expect that such men could be recovered to sobriety of mind, after they had endured those very sufferings, for the avoiding whereof it only was probable they might have repented.

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#### CHAP. IV.

When the banks were completed, and the battering rams brought, and could do nothing, Titus gave orders to set fire to the gates of the temple: in no long time after which, the holy house itself was burnt down, even against his consent.

§ 1. AND now, two of the legions had completed their banks, on the eighth day of the month Lous, [Ab.] Where-



upon, Titus gave orders, that the battering-rams should be brought, and set over against the western edifice of the inner temple; for, before these were brought, the firmest of all the other engines had battered the wall together for six days without ceasing, without making any impression upon it but the vast largeness and strong connection of the stones was superior to that engine, and to the other battering-rams also. Other Romans did indeed undermine the foundations of the northern gate, and, after a world of pains, removed the outermost stones, yet was the gate still upheld by the inner stones, and stood still unhurt; till the workmen, despairing of all such attempts by engines and crows, brought their ladders to the cloisters. Now, the Jews did not interrupt them in so doing; but, when they were gotten up, they fell upon them, and fought with them; some of them they thrust down, and threw them backwards headlong, others of them they met, and slew; they also beat many of those that went down the ladders again, and slew them with their swords before they could bring their shields to protect them; nay, some of the ladders they threw down from above when they were full of armed men: a great slaughter was made of the Jews also at the same time, while those that bear the ensigns fought hard for them, as deeming it a terrible thing, and what would tend to their great shame, if they permitted them to be stolen away. Yet did the Jews, at length, get possession of these engines, and destroyed those that had gone up the ladders, while the rest were so intimidated, by what those suffered who were slain, that they retired; although none of the Romans died without having done good service before his death. Of the seditious, those that had fought bravely in the former battles did the like now: as besides them did Eleazar the brother's son of Simon the tyrant. But, when Titus perceived that his endeavours to spare a foreign temple turned to the damage of his soldiers and made them be killed, he gave orders to set the gate on fire.

2. In the mean time, there deserted to him Ananus, who came from Emmaus, the most bloody of all Simon's guards and Archelaus, the son of Magadatus, they hoping to be still forgiven, because they left the Jews at a time when they were the conquerors. Titus objected this to these men, as a cunning trick of theirs; and, as he had been informed of their other barbarities towards the Jews,

he was going, in all haste, to have them both slain. He told them That "they were only driven to this desertion "because of the utmost distress they were in, and did not "come away of their own good disposition; and that those "did not deserve to be preserved, by whom their own city "was already set on fire, out of which fire they now hurried "themselves away." However, the security he had promised deserters overcame his resentments, and he dismissed them accordingly, though he did not give them the same privileges that he had afforded to others. And now the soldiers had already put fire to the gates, and the silver that was over them quickly carried the flames to the wood that was within it, whence it spread itself all on the sudden, and caught hold of the cloisters. Upon the Jews seeing this fire all about them, their spirits sunk, together with their bodies, and they were under such astonishment, that not one of them made any haste, either to defend himself, or to quench the fire, but they stood as mute spectators of it only. However, they did not so grieve at the loss of what was now burning, as to grow wiser thereby for the time to come; but, as though the holy house itself had been on fire already, they wetted their passions against the Romans. This fire prevailed during that day, and the next also; for the soldiers were not able to burn all the cloisters that were round about together at one time, but only by pieces.

3. But then, on the next day, Titus commanded part of his army to quench the fire, and to make a road for the more easy marching up of the legions, while he himself gathered the commanders together. Of those there were assembled the six principal persons, Tiberius Alexander, the commander [under the general] of the whole army, with Sextus, Cerealis, the commander of the fifth legion, and Larcus Lepidus, the commander of the tenth legion, and Titus Frigius, the commander of the fifteenth legion; there was also with them Eternius, the leader of the two legions that came from Alexandria, and Marcus Antonia Julianus, procurator of Judea; after these came together also the rest of the procurators and tribunes. Titus proposed to these, that they should give him their advice, what should be done about the holy house. Now, some of these thought, "It would be the best way to act according "to the rules of war, [and demolish it,] because the Jews

“would never leave off rebelling while that house was standing, at which house it was that they used to get all together.” Others of them were of opinion, That “in case the Jews would leave it, and none of them would lay their arms up in it, he might save it; but that in case they got upon it, and fought any more, he might burn it; because it must then be looked upon, not as an holy house, but as a citadel, and that the impiety of burning it would then belong to those that forced this to be done, and not to them.” But Titus said, That “although the Jews should get upon that holy house, and fight us thence, yet ought we not to revenge ourselves on things that are inanimate, instead of the men themselves; and that he was not in any case for burning down so vast a work as that was, because this would be a mischief to the Romans themselves, as it would be an ornament to their government while it continued.” So Fronto, and Alexander, and Cerealis, grew bold upon that declaration, and agreed to the opinion of Titus. Then was this assembly dissolved, when Titus had given order to the commanders, that the next of their forces should lie still, but that they should make use of such as were most courageous in this attack. So he commanded that the chosen men that were taken out of the cohorts, should make their way through the ruins, and quench the fire.

4. Now, it is true, that on this day the Jews were so weary, and under such consternation, that they then refrained from any attacks. But, on the next day, they gathered their whole force together, and ran upon those that guarded the outer court of the temple very boldly, through the east gate, and this about the second hour of the day. These guards received their attack with great bravery, and by covering themselves with their shields before, as if it were with a wall, they drew their squadron close together; yet was it evident that they could not abide there very long, but would be overborne by the multitude of those that sallied out upon them, and by the heat of their passion. However, Cæsar seeing, from the tower of Antonia, that this squadron was likely to give way, he sent some chosen horsemen to support them. Hereupon, the Jews found themselves not able to sustain their onset, and upon the slaughter of those in the forefront, many of the rest were put to flight.

But, as the Romans were going off, the Jews turned upon them and fought them ; and, as those Romans came back upon them, they retreated again, until about the fifth hour of the day, they were overborne, and shut themselves up in the inner [court of the] temple.

5. So Titus retired into the tower of Antonia, and resolved to storm the temple the next day, early in the morning, with his whole army, and to encamp round about the holy house. But, as for that house, God had, for certain, long ago doomed it to the fire : and now that fatal day was come, according to the revolution of ages ; it was the tenth day of the month Lous, [Ab,] upon which it was formerly burnt by the king of Babylon ; although these flames took their rise from the Jews themselves, and were occasioned by them : for, upon Titus's retiring the seditious lay still for a little while, and then attacked the Romans again, when those that guarded the holy house fought with those that quenched the fire that was burning the inner [court of the] temple ; but these Romans put the Jews to flight, and proceeded as far as the holy house itself. At which time, one of the soldiers, without staying for any orders, and without any concern or dread upon him at so great an undertaking, and being hurried only by a certain divine fury, snatched somewhat out of the materials that were on fire, and being lifted up by another soldier, he set fire to a golden window, through which there was a passage to the rooms that were round about the holy house, on the north side of it. As the flames went upward, the Jews made a great clamour, such as so mighty an affliction required, and ran together to prevent it : and now they spared not their lives any longer, nor suffered any thing to restrain their force, since that holy house was perishing, for whose sake it was that they kept such a guard about it.

6. And now a certain person came running to Titus, and told him of this fire, as he was resting himself in his tent after the last battle ; whereupon, he rose up in great haste, and, as he was, ran to the holy house, in order to have a stop put to the fire ; after him followed all his commanders, and after them followed the several legions, in great astonishment : so there was a great clamour and tumult raised, as was natural upon the disorderly motion of so great an army. Then did Cæsar, both by calling to the soldiers that were fighting, with a loud voice, and by giving a signal to

them with his right hand, order them to quench the fire. But they did not hear what he said, though he spake so loud, having their ears already dinned by a greater noise another way; nor did they attend to the signal he made with his hand neither, as still some of them were distracted with fighting, and others with passion. But, as for the legions that came running thither, neither any persuasions, nor any threatenings could restrain their violence, but each one's own passion was his commander at this time; and as they were crowding into the temple together, many of them were trampled on by one another, while a great number fell among the ruins of the cloisters, which were still hot, and smoking, and were destroyed in the same miserable way with those whom they had conquered:—and when they had come near the holy house, they made as if they did not so much as hear Cæsar's orders to the contrary; but they encouraged those that were before them to set it on fire. As for the seditious, they were in too great distress already to afford their assistance [towards quenching the fire;] they were every where slain, and every where beaten; and, as for a great part of the people, they were weak, and without arms, and had their throats cut wherever they were caught. Now, round about the altar lay dead bodies heaped one upon another, as at the steps\* going up to it ran a great quantity of their blood, whither also the dead bodies that were slain above [on the altar] fell down.

7. And now, since Cæsar was no way able to restrain the enthusiastic fury of the soldiers, and the fire proceeded on more and more, he went into the holy place of the temple, with his commanders, and saw it, with what was in it, which he found to be far superior to what the relations of foreigners contained, and not inferior to what we ourselves boasted of, and believed about it. But, as the flame had not as yet reached to its inward parts, but was still consuming the rooms that were about the holy house, and Titus supposing, what the fact was, that the house itself might yet be saved, he came up in haste, and endeavoured to

\* These steps to the altar of burnt-offering, seem here either an improper and inaccurate expression of Josephus, since it was unlawful to make ladder steps; (see the description of the temple, chap. xiii. and note on Antiq. B. iv. ch. viii. § 5 Vol. i.) or else those steps or stairs we now use were invented before the days of Herod the Great, and had been here built by him; though the later Jews always deny it, and say, that even Herod's altar was ascended to by an acclivity only.

persuade the soldiers to quench the fire, and gave order to Liberalius, the centurion, and one of those spearmen that were about him, to beat the soldiers that were refractory with their staves, and to restrain them: yet were their passions too hard for the regards they had for Cæsar, and the dread they had of him who forbade him, as was their hatred of the Jews, and a certain vehement inclination to fight them too hard for them also. Moreover, the hope of plunder induced many to go on, as having this opinion, that all the places within were full of money, and as seeing that all around about it was made of gold.—And besides, one of those that went into the place prevented Cæsar, when he ran so hastily out to restrain the soldiers, and threw the fire upon the hinges of the gate, in the dark; whereby the flame burst out from within the holy house itself immediately, when the commanders retired and Cæsar with them, and when nobody any longer forbade those that were without to set fire to it. And thus was the holy house burnt down without Cæsar's approbation.

8. Now, although any one would justly lament the destruction of such a work as this was, since it was the most admirable of all the works that we have seen, or heard, both for its curious structure and its magnitude, and also for the vast wealth bestowed upon it, as well as for the glorious reputation it had for its holiness; yet might such an one comfort himself with this thought, that it was fate that had decreed it so to be, which is inevitable, both as to living creatures, and as to works and places also. However, one cannot but wonder at the accuracy of this period thereto relating; for the same month and day were now observed, as I said before, wherein the holy house was burnt formerly by the Babylonians. Now the number of years that passed from its first foundation, which was laid by king Solomon, till this its destruction, which happened in the second year of the reign of Vespasian, are collected to be one thousand one hundred and thirty, besides seven months and fifteen days; and from the second building of it, which was done by Haggai, in the second year of Cyrus the king, till its destruction under Vespasian, there were six hundred thirty-nine years, and forty-five days.

## CHAP. V.

The great distress the Jews were in upon the conflagration of the holy house. Concerning a false prophet, and the signs that preceded this destruction.

§. I. WHILE the holy house was on fire, every thing was plundered that came to hand, and ten thousand of those that were caught were slain: nor was there a commiseration of any age, or any reverence of gravity, but children, and old men, and profane persons, and priests, were all slain in the same manner; so that this war went round all sorts of men, and brought them to destruction, and as well those that made supplication for their lives, as those that defended themselves by fighting. The flame was also carried a long way, and made an echo, together with the groans of those that were slain; and because this hill was high, and the works at the temple were very great, one would have thought the whole city had been on fire. Nor can one imagine any thing either greater or more terrible than this noise; for there was at once a shout of the Roman legions, who were marching all together, and a sad clamour of the seditious, who were now surrounded with fire and sword. The people also that were left above were beaten back upon the enemy, and under a great consternation, and made sad moans at the calamity they were under: the multitude also that was in the city joined in this outcry with those that were upon the hill. And besides many of those that were worn away by the famine, and their mouths almost closed, when they saw the fire of the holy house, they exerted their utmost strength, and brake out into groans and outcries again. Perea \* did also return the echo, as well as the mountains round about [the city,] and augmented the force of the entire noise. Yet was the misery itself more terrible than this disorder; for one would have thought that the hill itself, on which the temple stood, was seething hot, as full of fire on every part of it, that the blood was larger in quan-

\* This Perea, if the word be not mistaken in the copies, cannot well be that Perea which was beyond Jordan, whose mountains were at a considerable distance from Jordan, and much too remote from Jerusalem to join this echo at the conflagration of the temple; but Perea must be rather some mountains beyond the brook Cedron, as was the mount of Olives, or some others, about such a distance from Jerusalem: which observation is so obvious, that it is a wonder our commentators here take no notice of it.

tity than the fire, and those that were slain more in number than those that slew them: for the ground did no where appear visible, for the dead bodies that lay on it; but the soldiers went over heaps of those bodies, as they ran upon such as fled from them. And now it was that the multitude of the robbers were thrust out [of the inner court of the temple] by the Romans, and had much ado to get into the outward court, and from thence into the city, while the remainder of the populace fled into the cloister of that outer court. As for the priests, some of them plucked up from the holy house the spikes \* that were upon it with their bases, which were made of lead, and shot them at the Romans instead of darts. But then, as they gained nothing by so doing, and as the fire burst out upon them, they retired to the wall, that was eight cubits broad, and there they tarried; yet did two of these of eminence among them, who might have saved themselves by going over to the Romans, or have borne up with courage, and taken their fortune with the others, throw themselves into the fire, and were burnt, together with the holy house: their names were *Meirus*, the son of Belgas, and *Joseph*, the son of Daleus.

2. And now the Romans, judging that it was in vain to spare what was round about the holy house, burnt all those places, as also the remains of the cloisters and the gates, two excepted; the one on the east side and the other on the south; both which however they burnt afterward. They also burnt down the treasury-chambers, in which was an immense quantity of money, and an immense number of garments, and other precious goods there repositied; and, to speak all in a few words, there it was that the entire riches of the Jews were heaped up together, while the rich people had there built themselves chambers, [to contain such furniture.] The soldiers also came to the rest of the cloisters that were in the outer [court of the] temple whither the women and children, and a great mixed multitude of the people fled, in number about six thousand. But before Cæsar had determined any thing about these people, or given the commanders any orders relating to them, the soldiers were in such a rage, that they set that cloister on fire;

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\* Reland, I think, here judges well, when he interprets these spikes (of those that stood on the top of the holy house) with sharp points: they were fixed into lead to prevent the birds from sitting there, and defiling the holy house; for such spikes there were now upon it, as Josephus himself hath already assured us, B. v. ch. v. § 6. vol. vi.



by which means it came to pass, that some of these were destroyed by throwing themselves down headlong, and some were burnt in the cloisters themselves. Nor did any one of them escape with his life. A false prophet was the occasion \* of these people's destruction, who had made a public proclamation in the city that very day, That "God commanded them to get up upon the temple, and that there they should receive miraculous signs of their deliverance." Now, there was then a great number of false prophets suborned by the tyrants to impose on the people, who denounced this to them that they should wait for deliverance from God; and this was in order to keep them from deserting, and that they might be buoyed up above fear and care by such hopes. Now, a man that is in adversity does easily comply with such promises; for, when such a seducer makes him believe that he shall be delivered from those miseries which oppress him, then it is that the patient is full of hopes of such his deliverance.

3. Thus were the miserable people persuaded by these deceivers, and such as believed God himself; while they did not attend nor give credit to the signs that were so evident, and did so plainly foretel their future desolation, but like men infatuated, without either eyes to see, or minds to consider, did not regard the denunciations that God made to them. Thus there was a star † resembling a sword, which stood over the city, and a comet † that continued a whole year. Thus also, before the Jews' rebellion, and before those commotions which preceded the war, when the people were come in great crowds to the feast of unleavened bread, on the eighth day † of the month Xanthicus, [Nisan.] and at the ninth hour of the night, so great a light shone round the altar and the holy house, that it appeared to be bright day-time; which light lasted for half an hour. This light seemed to be a good sign to the un-

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\* Reland here justly takes notice, that these Jews, who had despised the true Prophet, were deservedly abused and deluded by these false ones.

† Whether Josephus means, that this star was different from that comet which lasted a whole year, I cannot certainly determine. His words most favour their being different one from another.

‡ Since Josephus still uses the Syro-macedonian month Xanthicus for the Jewish month Nisan, this 8th, or, as Nicephoras read it this ninth of Xanthicus or Nisan was almost a week before the Passover on the 14th: about which time we learn from St. John that many used to go out of the country to Jerusalem to purify themselves, John xi. 55 with xii. 1. in agreement with Josephus also, B. v. ch. iii. § 1 vol. v. And it might well be, that in the sight of these this extraordinary light might appear.

skilful, but was so interpreted by the sacred scribes as to portend those events that followed immediately upon it. At the same festival also an heifer, as she was led by the high priest to be sacrificed, brought forth a lamb in the midst of the temple. Moreover, the eastern gate of the inner [court of the temple,] which was of brass, and vastly heavy, and had been with difficulty shut by twenty men, and rested upon a basis armed with iron, and had bolts fastened very deep into the firm floor, which was there made of one entire stone, was seen to be opened of its own accord about the sixth hour of the night. Now, those that kept the watch in the temple came hereupon running to the captain of the temple, and told him of it; who then came up thither, and not without great difficulty was able to shut the gate again. This also appeared to the vulgar to be a very happy prodigy, as if God did thereby open them the gate of happiness. But the men of learning understood it, that the security of their holy house was dissolved of its own accord, and that the gate was opened for the advantage of their enemies. So these publicly declared that the signal foreshewed the desolation that was coming upon them. Besides these, a few days after that feast, on the one and twentieth day of the month Artemesius, [Jyar,] a certain prodigious and incredible phenomenon appeared; I suppose the account of it would seem to be a fable, were it not related by those that saw it, and were not the events that followed it of so considerable a nature as to deserve such signals: for, before sun-setting, chariots and troops of soldiers in their armour were seen running about among the clouds, and surrounding of cities. Moreover, at that feast which we call *Pentecost*, as the priests were going by night into the \* inner [court of the] temple, as their custom was, to perform their sacred ministrations, they said, that in the first place they felt a quaking and heard a great noise, and after that they heard a sound as of a multitude saying, "LET US REMOVE HENCE." But what is still more terrible, there was one Jesus the son of Ananus a plebeian and an husbandmen, who, four years before the war began, and at a time when the city was in very great peace and prosperity, came to that feast whereon it is our custom for every

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\* This here seems to be the court of the priests.

one to make tabernacles to God in the temple, \* began on a sudden to cry aloud, "A voice from the east, a voice from the west, a voice from the four winds, a voice against Jerusalem and the holy house, a voice against the bridegrooms and the brides, and a voice against this whole people." This was his cry, as he went about by day and by night, in all the lanes of the city. However, certain of the most eminent among the populace had great indignation at this dire cry of his, and took up the man and gave him a great number of severe stripes; yet did he not either say any thing for himself, or any thing peculiar to those that chastised him, but still went on with the same words which he cried before. Hereupon our rulers, supposing, as the case proved to be, that this was a sort of divine fury in the man, brought him to the Roman procurator; where he was whipped till his bones were laid bare: yet did not he make any supplication for himself, nor shed any tears; but turning his voice to the most lamentable tone possible, at every stroke of the whip his answer was, "Wo, wo to Jerusalem. And when Albinus (for he was then our procurator) asked him. "Who he was? and whence he came? and why he uttered such words?" he made no manner of reply to what he said, but still did not leave off his melancholy ditty, till Albinus took him to be a madman, and dismissed him. Now, during all the time that passed before the war began, this man did not go near any of the citizens, nor was seen by them while he said so; but he every day uttered these lamentable words, as if it were his premeditated vow, "Wo, wo to Jerusalem." Nor did he give ill words to any of those that beat him every day, nor good words to those that gave him food; but this was his reply to all men, and indeed no other than a melancholy presage of what was to come. This cry of his was the loudest at the festivals! and he continued this ditty for seven years and five months, without growing hoarse, or being tired therewith, until the very time that he saw his presage in earnest fulfilled in our siege, when it ceased; for, as he

\* Both Reland and Havercamp in this place after the natural punctuation and sense of Josephus, and this contrary to the opinion of Valesius and Dr. Hudson, lest Josephus should say, that the Jews built booths or tents *with-in the temple*, at the feast of Tabernacles; which the latter rabbins will not allow to have been the ancient practice; but then, since it is expressly told us in Nehemiah, viii. 16. that in still elder times, *the Jews made booths in the courts of the house of God* at that festival, Josephus may well be permitted to say the same. And indeed the modern rabbins are of very small authority in all such matters of remote antiquity.

was going round upon the wall, he cried out with his utmost force, "Wo, wo to the city again, and to the people, "and to the holy house." And just as he added at the last, "Wo, wo to myself also," there came a stone out of one of the engines, and smote him, and killed him immediately; and, as he was uttering the very same presages, he gave up the ghost.

4. Now if any one consider these things, he will find that God takes care of mankind, and by always possible foreshews to our race what is for their preservation, but that men perish by those miseries which they madly and voluntarily bring upon themselves; for the Jews by demolishing the tower of Antonia, had made their temple four square, while, at the same time they had it written in their sacred oracles, That "then should their city be taken, as well as "their holy house, when once their temple should become "four square." But now, what did the most elevate them in undertaking this war, was an ambiguous oracle that was found also in their sacred writings, How, "about that time, "one from their country should become governor of the "habitable earth." The Jews took this prediction to belong to themselves in particular, and many of the wise men were thereby deceived in their determination. Now, this oracle certainly denoted the government of Vespasian who was appointed emperor in Judea. However, it is not possible for men to avoid fate, although they see it beforehand. But these men interpreted some of these signals according to their own pleasure, and some of them they utterly despised, until their madness was demonstrated, both by the taking of their city, and their own destruction.

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## CHAP. VI.

How the Romans carried their ensigns to the temple, and made joyful acclamations to Titus. The speech that Titus made to the Jews when they made application for mercy. What reply they made there-to, and how that reply moved Titus's indignation against them.

§ 1. AND now the Romans, upon the flight of the seditious into the city, and upon the burning of the holy house itself, and of all the buildings round about it, brought their

ensigns to the temple,\* and set them over against its eastern gate; and there did they offer sacrifices to them, and there did they make Titus *Imperator*, with the greatest acclamations of joy. And now all the soldiers had such vast quantities of the spoils which they had gotten by plunder, that in Syria a pound weight of gold was sold for half its former value. But as for those priests that kept themselves still upon the wall† of the holy house, there was a boy that, out of the thirst he was in, desired some of the Roman guards to give him their right hands as a security for his life, and confessed he was very thirsty. These guards commiserated his age, and the distress he was in, and gave him their right hands accordingly. So he came down himself, and drank some water, and filled the vessel he had with him when he came to them with water, and then went off, and fled away to his own friends; nor could any of those guards overtake him; but still they reproached him for his perfidiousness. To which he made this answer: "I have not broken the agreement; for the security I had given me was not in order to my staying with you, but only in order to my coming down safely, and taking up some water; both which things I have performed, and therefore upon think myself to have been faithful to my engagement." Hereupon, those whom the child had imposed upon admired at his cunning, and that on account of his age. On the fifth day afterward, the priests that were pinned with the famine came down, and when they were brought to Titus by the guards, they begged for their lives; but he replied, That "the time of pardon was over as to them, and that this very holy house, on whose account only they could justly hope to be preserved, was destroyed, and that it was agreeable to their office, that priests should perish with the house itself to which they belonged." So he ordered them to be put to death.

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\* Take Havercamp's note here, 'This,' says he, 'is a remarkable place: and Tertullian truly says in his *Apologetic*, ch. xvi. p. 162. That "the entire religion of the Roman camp almost consisted in worshipping the ensigns in swearing by the ensigns, and in preferring the ensigns before all [other] gods" See what Havercamp says upon that place of Tertullian.

† This declaring Titus *Imperator* by the soldiers, upon such signal success, and the slaughter of such a vast number of enemies, was according to the usual practice of the Romans in like cases, as Reland assures us on this place.

‡ The Jews of later times agree with Josephus, that there were hiding places or secret chambers about the holy house, as Reland here informs us; where he thinks he has found these very walls described by them.

2. But, as for the tyrants themselves, and those that were with them, when they found that they were oncompas-  
 sed on every side, and, as it were, walled round, without  
 any method of escaping, they desired to treat with Titus  
 by word of mouth. Accordingly, such was the kindness  
 of his nature, and his desire of preserving the city from des-  
 truction, and was joined to the advice of his friends, who  
 now thought the robbers were come to a temper, that he  
 placed himself on the western side of the outer [court of  
 the] temple; for there were gates on that side above the  
 Xystus, and a bridge that connected the upper city to the  
 temple. This bridge it was that lay between the tyfants  
 and Cæsar, and parted them; while the multitude stood on  
 each side; those of the Jewish nation about Simon and  
 John, with great hopes of pardon, and the Romans about  
 Cæsar, in great expectation how Titus would receive their  
 supplication. So Titus charged his soldiers to restrain  
 their rage, and to let their darts alone, and appointed an  
 interpreter between them, which was a sign that he was the  
 conqueror, and first began the discourse, and said, "I  
 "hope you, Sirs, are now satiated with the miseries of  
 "your country, who have not had any just notions either  
 "of our great power, or of your own great weakness, but  
 "have, like madmen, after a violent and inconsiderate  
 "manner, made such attempts, as have brought your peo-  
 "ple, your city, and your holy house to destruction. You  
 "have been the men that have never left off rebelling since  
 "Pompey first conquered you, and have since that time made  
 "open war with the Romans. Have you depended on your  
 "multitude, while a very small part of the Roman soldiery  
 "have been strong enough for you? Have you relied on the  
 "fidelity of your confederates? And what nations are there,  
 "out of the limits of our dominion, that would choose to as-  
 "sist the Jews before the Romans? Are your bodies stron-  
 "ger than ours? Nay, you know that the [strong] Ger-  
 "mans themselves are our servants. Have you stronger  
 "walls than we have? Pray, what greater obstacle is there  
 "than the wall of the ocean, with which the Britons are  
 "encompassed, and yet do adore the arms of the Romans.  
 "Do you exceed us in courage of soul, and in the sagacity  
 "of your commanders? Nay, indeed, you cannot but  
 "know that the very Carthaginians have been conquered by  
 "us. It can, therefore, be nothing certainly but the kind-

"ness of us Romans which hath excited you against us.  
 "Who, in the first place, have given you this land to  
 "possess ; and, in the next place, have set over you kings  
 "of your own nation ; and, in the third place, have pre-  
 "served the laws of your forefathers to you, and have  
 "withal permitted you to live either by yourselves or  
 "among others, as it should please you ; and, what is our  
 "chief favour of all, we have given you leave to gather up  
 "that tribute which is paid to God,\* with such other gifts  
 "that are dedicated to him ; nor have we called those that  
 "carried these donations to account, nor prohibited them ;  
 "till at length you became richer than we ourselves, even  
 "when you were our enemies ; and you made preparations  
 "for war against us with our own money ; nay, after all,  
 "when you were in the enjoyment of all these advantages,  
 "you turned your too great plenty against those that gave  
 "it you, and, like merciless serpents, have thrown out  
 "your poison against those that treated you kindly. I sup-  
 "pose, therefore, that you might despise the slothfulness  
 "of Nero, and, like limbs of the body that are broken or  
 "dislocated, you did then lie quiet, waiting for some  
 "other time, though still with a malicious intention, and  
 "have now shewed your distemper to be greater than ever,  
 "and have extended your desires as far as your impudent  
 "and immense hopes would enable you to do it. At this  
 "time, my father came into this country, not with a de-  
 "sign to punish you for what you had done under Cestius,  
 "but to admonish you ; for, had he come to overthrow  
 "your nation, he had run directly to your fountain-head,  
 "and had immediately laid this city waste ; whereas, he  
 "went and burnt Galilee and the neighbouring parts, and  
 "thereby gave you time for repentance ; which instance  
 "of humanity you took for an argument of his weakness,  
 "and nourished up your impudence by our mildness.  
 "When Nero was gone out of the world, you did as the  
 "wickedest wretches would have done, and encouraged  
 "yourselves to act against us by our civil dissensions, and  
 "abused that time, when both I and my father were gone  
 "away for Egypt, to make preparations for this war. Nor  
 "were you ashamed to raise disturbances against us when  
 "we were made emperors, and this while you had experi-

\* Spanheim notes here, that the Romans used to permit the Jews to collect their sacred tribute, and send it to Jerusalem : of which we have had abundant evidence in Josephus already on other occasions.

“ence how mild we had been, when we were no more than  
“generals of the army. But when the government was de-  
“volved upon us, and all other people did thereupon lie  
“quiet, and even foreign nations sent embassies, and con-  
“gratulated our access to the government, then did you  
“Jews shew yourselves to be our enemies. You sent em-  
“bassies to those of your nation that are beyond Euphrates  
“to assist you in your raising disturbances: new walls  
“were built by you round your city, seditions arose, and  
“one tyrant contended against another, and a civil war  
“broke out among you: such indeed as became none but  
“so wicked a people as you are. I then came to this city,  
“as unwillingly sent by my father, and received melancholy  
“injunctions from him. When I heard that the people  
“were disposed to peace; I rejoiced at it: I exhorted you  
“to leave off these proceedings, before I began this war:  
“I spared you, even when you had fought against me a  
“great while: I gave my right hand as security to the de-  
“serters: I observed what I had promised faithfully.  
“When they fled to me, I had compassion on many of  
“those I had taken captive: I tortured those that were  
“eager for war, in order to restrain them. It was unwill-  
“ingly that I brought my engines of war against your  
“walls; I always prohibited my soldiers when they were  
“set upon your slaughter, from their severity against you.  
“After every victory I persuaded you to peace, as though  
“I had been myself conquered. When I came near your  
“temple, I again departed from the laws of war, and ex-  
“horted you to spare your own sanctuary, and to preserve  
“your holy house to yourselves. I allowed you a quiet  
“exit out of it, and security for your preservation: nay,  
“if you had a mind, I gave you leave to fight in another  
“place. Yet have you still despised every one of my pro-  
“posals, and have set fire to your holy house with your own  
“hands. And now, vile wretches do you desire to treat  
“with me by word of mouth? to what purpose is it that  
“you would save such an holy house as this was, which is  
“now destroyed?—what preservation can you now desire  
“after the destruction of your temple? Yet do you stand  
“still at this very time in your armour; nor can you bring  
“yourselves so much as to pretend to be supplicants, even  
“in this your utmost extremity. O miserable creatures!  
“what is it you depend on? Are not your people dead? is  
“not your holy house gone? is not your city in my power!



“and are not your own very lives in my hands? And do you still deem it a part of valour to die? However, I will not imitate your madness. If you will throw down your arms, and deliver up your bodies to me, I grant you your lives: and I will act like a mild master of a family; what cannot be healed shall be punished, and the rest I will preserve for my own use.”

3. To that offer of Titus they made this reply, That they could not accept of it, because they had sworn never to do so; but they desired they might have leave to go through the wall that had been made about them, with their wives and children; for that they would go into the desert and leave the city to him.” At this Titus had great indignation, that, when they were in the case of men already taken captives, they should pretend to make their own terms with him, as if they had been conquerors. So he ordered this proclamation to be made to them, That they should no more come out to him as deserters, nor hope for any farther security; for that he would henceforth spare no body, but fight them with his whole army; and that they must save themselves as well as they could; for that he would from henceforth treat them according to the laws of war.” So he gave orders to the soldiers both to burn and to plunder the city; who did nothing indeed that day; but on the next day they set fire to the repository of the archives, to Acra, to the council-house, and to the place called *Ophlas*; at which time, the fire proceeded as far as the palace of queen Helena, which was in the middle of Acra: the lanes also were burnt down, as were also those houses that were full of the dead bodies of such as were destroyed by famine.

4. On the same day it was, that the sons and brethren of Izates the king, together with many others of the eminent men of the populace, got together there and besought Cæsar to give them his right hand for their security: upon which, though he were very angry at all that were now remaining, yet did he not lay aside his old moderation, but received these men. At that time, indeed, he kept them all in custody, but still bound the king's sons, and kinsmen and led them with him to Rome, in order to make them hostages for their country's fidelity to the Romans.

## CHAP. VII.

What afterwards befel the seditious, when they had done a great deal of mischief, and suffered many misfortunes; as also how Cæsar became master of the upper city.

§ 1. AND now the seditious rushed into the royal palace, into which many had put their effects, because it was so strong, and drove the Romans away from it. They also slew all the people that had crowded into it, who were in number about eight thousand four hundred, and plundered them of what they had. They also took two of the Romans alive; the one was a horseman and the other a footman. They then cut the throat of the footman, and immediately had him drawn through the whole city, as revenging themselves upon the whole body of the Romans by this one instance. But the horseman said, he had somewhat to suggest to them, in order to their preservation; whereupon, he was brought before Simon; but he having nothing to say when he was there, he was delivered to Ardalas, one of his commanders, to be punished, who bound his hands behind him, and put a ribband over his eyes, and then brought him out overagainst the Romans, as intending to cut off his head. But the man prevented that execution, and ran away to the Romans, and this while the Jewish executioner was drawing out his sword. Now, when he was gotten away from the enemy, Titus could not think of putting him to death; but, because he deemed him unworthy of being a Roman soldier any longer, on account that he had been taken alive by the enemy, he took away his arms, and ejected him out of that legion whereto he had belonged; which, to one that had a sense of shame, was a penalty severer than death itself.

2. On the next day, the Romans drove the robbers out of the lower city and set all on fire as far as Siloam. These soldiers were indeed glad to see the city destroyed. But they missed the plunder, because the seditious had carried off all their effects, and were retired into the upper city; for they did not yet at all repent of the mischiefs they had done, but were insolent as if they had done well; for, as they saw the city on fire, they appeared cheerful, and put on

joyful countenances, in expectation as they said of death, to end their miseries. Accordingly, as the people were now slain, the holy house was burnt down, and the city was on fire, there was nothing farther left for the enemy to do. Yet did not Josephus grow weary even in this utmost extremity, to beg of them to spare what was left of the city; he spake largely to them about their barbarity and impiety, and gave them his advice in order to their escape; though he gained nothing thereby more than to be laughed at by them; and, as they could not think of surrendering themselves up, because of the oath they had taken, nor were strong enough to fight with the Romans any longer upon the square, as being surrounded on all sides, and a kind of prisoners already, yet were they so accustomed to kill people that they could not restrain their right hands from acting accordingly. So they dispersed themselves before the city, and laid themselves in ambush among its ruins, to catch those that attempted to desert to the Romans: accordingly, many such deserters were caught by them, and were all slain; for these were too weak by reason of their want of food, to fly away from them; so their dead bodies were thrown to the dogs. Now, every other sort of death was thought more tolerable than the famine, insomuch that though the Jews despaired now of mercy yet would they fly to the Romans, and would themselves, even of their own accord, fall among the murderous repels also. Nor was there any place in the city that had no dead bodies in it, but what was entirely covered with those that were killed either by the famine or the rebellion; and all was full of the dead bodies of such as had perished either by that sedition or by that famine.

3. So now the last hope, which supported the tyrants and that crew of robbers which were with them, was in the caves and caverns under ground; whither, if they would once fly they did not expect to be searched out, but endeavoured, that, after the whole city should be destroyed, and the Romans gone away, they might come out again, and escape from them. This was no better than a dream of theirs; for they were not able to lie hid either from God or from the Romans. However, they depended on these under-ground subterfuges, and set more places on fire than did the Romans themselves; and those that fled out of the houses, thus set on fire, into the ditches, they killed with-

out mercy and pillaged them also; and if they discovered food belonging to any one, they seized upon it and swallowed it down, together with their blood also, nay, they were now come to fight with one another about their plunder; and I cannot but think, that had not their destruction prevented it, their barbarity would have made them taste of even the dead bodies themselves.

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## CHAP. VIII.

How Cæsar raised banks round about the upper city, \* and when they were completed, gave orders that the machines should be brought. He then possessed himself of the whole city.

§ 1. Now, when Cæsar perceived that the upper city was so steep, that it could not possibly be taken without raising banks against it, he distributed the several parts of that work among his army, and this on the twentieth day of the month Lous [Ab]. Now, the carriage of the materials was a difficult task since all the trees, as I have already told you, that were about the city within the distance of an hundred furlongs, had their branches cut off already, in order to make the former banks. The work that belonged to the four legions were erected on the west side of the city, over against the royal palace; but the whole body of the auxiliary troops, with the rest of the multitude that were with them, [erected their banks] at the Xystus, whence they reached to the bridge, and that tower of Simon which he had built as a citadel for himself against John, when they were at war one with another.

2. It was at this this time, that the commanders of the Idumeans got together privately, and took counsel about surrendering up themselves to the Romans. Accordingly, they sent five men to Titus, and entreated him to give them his right hand for their security. So Titus thinking that the tyrants would yield, if the Idumeans, upon whom a great part of the war depended were once withdrawn from them, after some reluctancy and delay, complied with them, and gave them security for their lives, and sent the five men back. But, as these Idumeans were preparing to

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\* i. e. Mount Sion.

march out, Simon perceived it, and immediately slew the five men that had gone to Titus, and took their commanders, and put them in prison, of whom the most eminent was Jacob, the son of Sosas; but, as for the multitude of the Idumeans, who did not at all no what to do, now their commander were taken from them, he had them watched, and secured the walls by a more numerous garrison. Yet could not that garrison resist those that were deserting; for, although a great number of them were slain, yet were the deserters many more in number. These were all received by the Romans, because Titus himself grew negligent of his former orders for killing them, and because the very soldiers grew weary of killing them, and because they hoped to get some money by sparing them; for they left only the populace, and sold \* the rest of the multitude with their wives and children, and every one of them at a very low price, and that because such as were sold were very many, and the buyers very few; and although Titus had made proclamation before-hand, that no deserter should come alone by himself, that so they might bring out their families with them, yet did he receive such as these also. However, he set over them such as were to distinguish some from others, in order to see if any of them deserved to be punished. And indeed the number of those that were sold was immense; but of the populace above forty thousand were saved, whom Cæsar let go whither every one of them pleased.

3. But now at this time it was, that one of the priests, the son Thebuthus, whose name was *Jesus*, upon his having security given him by the oath of Cæsar, that he should be preserved upon condition that he should deliver to him certain of the precious things that had been repositied in the temple, † came out of it, and delivered him from the wall of the holy house two candlesticks, like to those that lay

\* This innumerable multitude of Jews that were sold by the Romans were an eminent completion of God's ancient threatening by Moses, that, if they apostatized from the obedience to his laws, they should be *sold unto their enemies for bondmen and bondwomen*; Deut. xxvii. 68. See more especially the note on ch. ix. § 2. But one thing is here peculiarly remarkable, that Moses adds, *Though they should be sold for slaves, yet no man should buy them*; i. e. either they should have none to redeem them from this sale into slavery; or rather, that the slaves to be sold should be more than were the purchasers for them, and so they should be sold for little or nothing; which is what Josephus here affirms to have been the case at this time.

† What became of these spoils of the temple that escaped the fire, see Josephus himself hereafter, B. vii. ch. v. § 5.—Reland *de spoliis templi*, 129—138

in the holy house, with tables, and cisterns, and vials, all made of solid gold, and very heavy. He also delivered to him the veils, and the garments, with the precious stones, and a great number of other precious vessels that belonged to their sacred worship. The treasurer of the temple also, whose name was *Phincas*, was seized on, and shewed Titus the coats and girdles of the priests, with a great quantity of purple and scarlet, which were there repositied for the uses of the veil, as also a great deal of cinnamon and cassia, \* with a large quantity of other sweet spices, which used to be mixed together and offered as incense to God every day. A great many other treasures were also delivered to him, with sacred ornaments of the temple not a few; which things thus delivered to Titus, obtained of him for this man the same pardon that he had allowed to such as deserted of their own accord.

4. And now were the banks finished, on the seventh day of the month Gorpeius [Elul] in eighteen days time, when the Romans brought their machines against the wall. But, for the seditious, some of them as despairing of saving the city, retired from the wall to the citadel; others of them went down into the subterranean vaults, though still a great many of them defended themselves against those that brought the engines for the battery: yet did the Romans overcome them by their number, and by their strength and, what was the principal thing of all, by going cheerfully about their work, while the Jews were quite dejected, and become weak. Now, as soon as a part of the wall was battered down, and certain of the towers yielded to the impression of the battering-rams, those that opposed themselves fled away, and such a terror fell upon the tyrants, as was much greater than the occasion required; for before the enemy got ever the breach, they were quite stunned, and were immediately for flying away. And now, one might see these men, who had hitherto been so insolent and arrogant in their wicked practices, to be cast down, and to tremble, insomuch that it would pity one's heart to observe the change that was made in those vile persons. Accordingly, they ran with great violence upon the Roman wall that en-

\* These various sorts of spices, even more than those four which Moses prescribed. Exod. xxxi. 34. were used in the public worship under Herod's temple, particularly cinnamon and cassia: which Reland takes particular notice of, as agreeing with the latter testimony of the Talmudists.

compassed them, in order to force away those that guarded it, and to break through it, and get away. But, when they saw that those who had formerly been faithful to them had gone away, (as indeed they were fled whithersoever the great distress they were in persuaded them to flee;) as also, when those that came running before the rest, told them that the western wall was quite overthrown, while others said the Romans were gotten in, and others, that they were near, and looking out for them, which were only the dictates of their fear, which imposed upon their sight, they fell upon their face, and greatly lamented their own mad conduct: and their nerves were so terribly loosed, that they could not flee away. And here one may chiefly reflect on the power of God exercised upon these wicked wretches, and on the good fortune of the Romans; for these tyrants did now wholly deprive themselves of the security they had in their own power, and came down from those very towers of their own accord, wherein they could never have been taken by force, nor indeed any other way than by famine. And thus did the Romans, when they had taken such great pains about weaker walls, get by good fortune what they could never have gotten by their engines; for three of these towers were too strong for all mechanical engines whatsoever, concerning which we have treated above.

5. So they now left these towers of themselves, or rather they were ejected out of them by God himself, and fled immediately to that valley which was under Siloam, where they again recovered themselves out of the dread they were in for a while, and ran violently against that part of the Roman wall which lay on that side; but, as their courage was too much depressed to make their attacks with sufficient force, and their power was now broken with fear and affliction, they were repulsed by the guards, and dispersing themselves at distances from each other, went down into the subterranean caverns.—So the Romans being now become masters of the walls, they both placed their ensigns upon the towers, and made joyful acclamations for the victory they had gained, as having found the end of this war much lighter than its beginning; for, when they had gotten upon the last wall, without any bloodshed, they could hardly believe what they found to be true; but seeing nobody to oppose them, they stood in doubt what such an un-

usual solitude could mean. But, when they went in numbers into the lanes of the city, with their swords drawn, they slew those whom they overtook without mercy, and set fire to the houses whither the Jews were fled, and burnt every soul in them, and laid waste a great many of the rest; and when they were come to the houses to plunder them, they found in them entire families of dead men, and the upper rooms full of dead corpses, that is, of such as died by the famine; they then stood in an horror at this sight, and went out without touching any thing. But, although they had this commiseration for such as were destroyed in that manner, yet had they not the same for those that were still alive, but they ran every one through whom they met with, and obstructed the very lanes with their dead bodies, and made the whole city run down with blood, to such a degree indeed, that the fire of many of the houses was quenched with these men's blood. And truly so it happened, that though the slayers left off at the evening, yet did the fire greatly prevail in the night; and, as all was burning, came that eighth day of the month Gorpeius, [Elul,] upon Jerusalem, a city that had been liable to so many miseries during this siege, that had it always enjoyed as much happiness from its first foundation, it would certainly have been the envy of the world. Nor did it, on any other account, so much deserve these sore misfortunes, as by producing such a generation of men as were the occasions of this its overthrow.

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#### CHAP. IX.

What instructions Cæsar gave when he was come within the city. The number of the captives, and of those that perished in the siege; as also concerning those that had escaped into the subterranean caverns among whom were the tyrants Simon and John themselves.

§ 1. Now, when Titus was come into this [upper] city, he admired not only some other places of strength in it, but particularly those strong towers which the tyrants in their mad conduct, had relinquished: for, when he saw their solid altitude, and the largeness of their several stones, and the exactness of their joints, as also how great was their breadth, and how extensive their length, he expressed him-



self after the manner following: "We have certainly had "God for our assistant in this war, and it was no other than "God who ejected the Jews out of these fortifications; for, "what could the hands of men, or any machines, do towards overthrowing these towers?" At which time, he had many such discourses to his friends: he also let such go free as had been bound by the tyrants, and were left in the prisons. To conclude, when he entirely demolished the rest of the city, and overthrew its walls, he left these towers as a monument of his good fortune, which had proved his auxiliaries, and enabled him to take what otherwise could not have been taken by him.

2. And now, since his soldiers were already quite tired with killing men, and yet there appeared to be a vast multitude still remaining alive, Cæsar gave orders that they should kill none but those that were in arms, and opposed them, but should take the rest alive. But, together with those whom they had orders to slay, they slew the aged and the infirm; but, for those that were in their flourishing age, and who might be useful to them, they drove them together into the temple, and shut them up within the walls of the court of the women; over which Cæsar set one of his freed men, as also Fronto, one of his own friends, which last was to determine every one's fate according to his merits. So this Fronto slew all those that had been seditious, and robbers, who were impeached one by another; but of the young men he chose out the tallest and most beautiful, and reserved them for the triumph; and, as for the rest of the multitude, that were above seventeen years old, he put them into bonds, and sent them to the Egyptian \* mines. Titus also sent a great number into the provinces, as a present to them, that they might be destroyed upon their theatres by the sword, and by the wild beasts; but those that were under seventeen years of age were sold for slaves. Now, during the days wherein Fronto was distinguishing these men, there perished for want of food, eleven thousand; some of which did not taste any food, through the hatred their guards bore to them, and others would not take in any

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\* See the several predictions, that the Jews, if they became obstinate in their idolatry and wickedness, should be sent again, or sold into Egypt, for their punishment, Deut. xxviii. 68. Jer. xlv. 7. Hos. viii. 13. ix. 3. xi. 4. 5. Esd. xv. 10—13. with Authentic Records, Part i. page 49, 121. and Reland Palæstina, tom. ii. page 715.

when it was given them. The multitude also was so very great, that they were in want even of corn for their sustenance.

3. Now, the number \* of those that were carried captive during this whole war, was collected to be ninety-seven thousand; as was the number of those that perished during the whole siege eleven hundred thousand, the greater part of whom indeed were of the same nation, [with the citizens of Jerusalem,] but not belonging to the city itself; for they were come up from all the country to the feast of unleavened bread, and were on a sudden shut up by an army, which at the very first occasioned so great a straitness among them, that there came a pestilential destruction upon them, and soon afterward such a famine, as destroyed them more suddenly. And that this city could contain so many people in it, is manifest by that number of them, which was taken under Cestius, who, being desirous of informing Nero of the flower of the city, who otherwise was disposed to condemn that nation, entreated the high-priests, if the thing were possible, to take the number of their whole multitude. So these high-priests, upon the coming of that feast which is called the *Passover*, when they slay their sacrifices from the ninth hour till the eleventh, but so that a company not less than ten † belonging to every sa-

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\* The whole multitude of Jews that were destroyed during the entire seven years before this time, in all the countries of, and bordering on Judea, is summed up by Archbishop Usher, from Lypsius, out of Josephus, at the year of Christ 70, and amounts to 1,337,490. Nor could there have been that number of Jews in Jerusalem to be destroyed in this siege, as will be presently set down by Josephus; but that both Jews and proselytes of justice were just then come up out of the other countries of Galilee, Samaria, Judea, Perea, and other remoter regions, to the Passover, in vast numbers, and there cooped up, as in a prison, by the Roman army, as Josephus himself well observes in this and the next section, and as is exactly related elsewhere, B. v. ch. iii. § 1. and ch. xiii. § 6. vol. v.

† This number of a company for one paschal lamb, between ten and twenty, agrees exactly with the number thirteen, at our Saviour's last passover. As to the whole number of the Jews that used to come up to the Passover, and eat of it at Jerusalem, see the note on B. ii. ch. xiv. § 3. vol. v. This number ought to be here indeed just ten times the number of the lambs, or just 2,565,000, by Josephus's own reasoning; whereas, it is, in his present copies, no less than 2,700,000, which last number is however nearest the other number in the place now cited, which is 3,000,000. But what is here chiefly remarkable is this, that no foreign nation ever came thus to destroy the Jews at any of their solemn festivals, from the days of Moses till this time, but came now upon their apostacy from God, and from obedience to him. Nor is it possible, in the nature of things, that, in any other nation, such vast numbers should be gotten together, and perish in the siege of any one city whatsoever, as now happened in Jerusalem.

crifice, (for it is not lawful for them to feast singly by themselves;) and many of us are twenty in a company. Now, the number of sacrifices was two hundred fifty-six thousand and five hundred, which upon the allowance of no more than ten that feast together, amounts to two millions seven hundred thousand and two hundred persons that were pure and holy; for, as to those that have the leprosy, or the gonorrhœa, or women that have their monthly courses, or such as are otherwise polluted, it is not lawful for them to be partakers of this sacrifice; nor indeed for any foreigners neither, who come hither to worship.

4. Now, this vast multitude is indeed collected out of remote places; but the entire nation was now shut up by fate, as in prison, and the Roman army encompassed the city when it was crowded with inhabitants. Accordingly, the multitude of those that therein perished, exceeded all the destructions that either men or God ever brought upon the world: for, to speak only of what was publicly known, the Romans slew some of them, some they carried captives, and others they made a search for under ground, and when they found where they were, they broke up the ground, and slew all they met with. There were also found slain there above two thousand persons, partly by their own hands, and partly by one another, but chiefly destroyed by the famine; but then, the ill savour of the dead bodies was most offensive to those that lighted upon them, insomuch that some were obliged to get away immediately, while others were so greedy of gain, that they would go in among the dead bodies that lay on heaps, and tread upon them: for a great deal of treasure was found in these caverns, and the hope of gain made every way of getting it to be esteemed lawful. Many also of those that had been put in prison by the tyrants, were now brought out; for they did not leave off their barbarous cruelty at the very last: yet did God avenge himself upon them both, in a manner agreeable to justice. As for John, he wanted food, together with his brethren, in these caverns, and begged that the Romans would now give him their right hand for his security, which he had often proudly rejected before: but for Simon, he struggled hard with the distress he was in, till he was forced to surrender himself, as we shall relate hereafter; so he was reserved for the triumph, and to be then slain; as was John condemned to perpetual imprisonment. And now the Ro-

mans set fire to the extreme parts of the city, and burnt them down, and entirely demolished its walls.

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CHAP. X.

That whereas the city Jerusalem had been five times taken formerly, this was the second time of its desolation. A brief account of its history.

§ 1. AND thus was Jerusalem taken, in the second year of the reign of Vespasian, on the eighth day of the month Gorpheus, [Elul.] It had been taken five \* times before, though this was the second time of its desolation; for Shishak the king of Egypt, and after him Antiochus, and after him Pompey, and after them Sosias and Herod took the city, but still preserved it; but before all these, the king of Babylon conquered it, and made it desolate, one thousand four hundred and sixty-eight years and six months after it was built. But, he who first built † it was a potent man among the Canaanites, and is in our tongue called [*Melchisedek*,] *The righteous king*, for such he really was; on which account, he was [there] the first priest of God, and first built a temple [there,] and called the city *Jerusalem*, which was formerly called *Salem*. However, David, the king of the Jews, ejected the Canaanites, and settled his own people therein. It was demolished entirely by the Babylonians, four hundred and seventy-seven years and six months after him. And from king David, who was the first of the Jews who reigned therein, to this destruction

\* Besides these five here enumerated who had taken Jerusalem of old, Josephus, upon farther recollection, reckons a sixth. Antiq. B. xii. ch. i. § 1. vol. iii. who should have been here inserted in the second place, I mean Ptolemy, the son of Lagus.

† Why the great Bochart should say, De Phœnic. Colon. B. ii. ch. iv. That "there are in this clause of Josephus as many mistakes as words." I do by no means understand. Josephus thought Melchisedek first built, or rebuilt and adorned this city, and that it was then called *Salem*, as Ps. lxxvi. 2. that it afterward came to be called *Jerusalem*; and that Melchisedek, being a priest as well as a king, built to the true God therein a temple, or place for public divine worship and sacrifice; all which things may be very true, for ought we know to the contrary. And for the word *ἱερόν*, or *Temple*, as if it must needs belong to the Great temple built by Solomon long afterward, Josephus himself uses *ναός*, for the small tabernacle of Moses, Antiq. B. iii. ch. vi. § 4. vol. i. See also Antiq. B. iii. ch. vi. § 1. as he here presently uses *ἱερόν* for a large and splendid synagogue of the Jews at Antioch only. B. vii. ch. iii. § 3.

under Titus, were one thousand one hundred and seventy-nine years ; but from the first building, till this last destruction, were two thousand one hundred and seventy-seven years ; yet, hath not its great antiquity, nor its vast riches, nor the diffusion of its nation over all the habitable earth, nor the greatness of the veneration paid to it on a religious account been sufficient to preserve it from being destroyed. And thus ended the siege of Jerusalem.

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*N. B.* This is the proper place for such as have closely attended to these latter Books of the War, to peruse, and that with equal attention, those distinct and plain predictions of Jesus of Nazareth, in the gospels thereto relating, as compared with their exact completions in Josephus's history ; upon which completions, as Dr Whitby well observes, Annot. on Matth. xxiv. 2. no small part of the evidence for the truth of the Christian religion does depend ; and, as I have, step by step, compared them together in my *Literal Accomplishment of Scripture Prophecies*. The reader is to observe farther, that the true reason why I have so seldom taken notice of those completions in the course of these notes, notwithstanding their being so very remarkable, and frequently so very obvious, is this, that I had entirely prevented myself in that treatise beforehand : to which, therefore, I must here, once for all, seriously refer every inquisitive reader.

## BOOK VII.

CONTAINING THE INTERVAL OF ABOUT THREE YEARS.

[From the taking of Jerusalem by Titus, to the sedition of the Jews at Cyrene.]

## CHAP. I.

How the entire city of Jerusalem was demolished, excepting three towers ; and how Titus commended his soldiers in a speech made to them, and distributed rewards to them, and then dismissed many of them.

§ 1. Now, as soon as the army had no more people to slay or to plunder, because there remained none to be the objects of their fury, (for they would not have spared any, had there remained any other such work to be done,) Cæsar gave orders that they should now demolish the entire city and temple, but should leave as many of the towers standing as were of the greatest eminency, that is, Phasaelus, and Hippicus, and Mariamne, and so much of the wall as inclosed the city on the west side. This wall was spared, in order to afford a camp for such as were to lie in garrison, as were the towers spared in order to demonstrate to posterity what kind of city it was, and how well fortified, which the Roman valour had subdued ; but, for all the rest of the wall, it was so thoroughly laid even with the ground by those, that dug it up to the foundation, that there was left nothing to make those that came thither believe it had ever been inhabited. This was the end which Jerusalem came to by the madness of those that were for innovations ; a city otherwise of great magnificence, and of mighty fame among all mankind.

2. But Cæsar resolved to leave there, as a guard, the tenth legion, with certain troops of horsemen, and companies of footmen. So, having entirely completed this war,

he was desirous to commend his whole army, on account of the great exploits they had performed, and to bestow proper rewards on such as had signalized themselves therein. He had therefore a great tribunal made for him, in the midst of the place where he had formerly encamped, and stood upon it with his principal commanders about him, and spake so as to be heard by the whole army, in the manner following: "That he returned them abundance of thanks for their good will, which they had shewed to him; he commended them for that ready obedience they had exhibited in this whole war, which obedience had appeared in the many and great dangers which they had courageously undergone; as also for that courage they had shewed, and had thereby augmented of themselves their country's power, and had made it evident to all men, that neither the multitude of their enemies, nor the strength of their places, nor the largeness of their cities, nor the rash boldness and brutish rage of your antagonists, were sufficient at any time to get clear of the Roman valour, although some of them may have fortune in many respects on their side. He said farther, that it was but reasonable for them to put an end to this war, now it had lasted so long, for they had nothing better to wish for when they entered into it; and that this happened more favourably for them, and more for their glory, that all the Romans had willingly accepted of those for their governors, and the curators of their dominions, whom they had chosen for them, and had sent into their own country for that purpose, which still continued under the management of those whom they had pitched on, and were thankful to them for pitching upon them. That accordingly, although he did both admire, and tenderly regard them all, because he knew that every one of them had gone as cheerfully about their work, as their abilities and opportunities would give them leave;—yet, he said, that he would immediately bestow rewards and dignities on those that had fought the most bravely, and with greater force, and had signalized their conduct in the most glorious manner, and had made his army more famous by their noble exploits; and that no one who had been willing to take more pains than another, should miss of a just retribution for the same: for that he had been exceeding careful about this matter, and that the more, because he had much rather reward the

“virtue of his fellow-soldiers, than punish such as had offended.”

3. Hereupon, Titus ordered those whose business it was, to read the list of all that had performed great exploits in this war, whom he called to him by their names, and commended them before the company, and rejoiced in them in the same manner as a man would have rejoiced in his own exploits. He also put on their heads crowns of gold, and golden ornaments about their necks, and gave them long spears of gold, and ensigns that were made of silver, and removed every one of them to an higher rank; and, besides this, he plentifully distributed among them, out of the spoils, and the other prey they had taken, silver, and gold, and garments. So when they had all these honours bestowed on them, according to his own appointment made to every one, and he had wished all sorts of happiness to the whole army he came down among the great acclamations which were made to him, and then betook himself to offer thank-offerings [to the gods,] and at once sacrificed a vast number of oxen, that stood ready at the altars, and distributed them among the army to feast on, And when he had stayed three days among the principal commanders, and so long feasted with them, he sent away the rest of his army to the several places where they would be every one best situated; but permitted the tenth legion to stay, as a guard at Jerusalem, and did not send them away beyond Euphrates, where they had been before. And as he remembered that the twelfth legion had given way to the Jews, under Cestius their general, he expelled them out of all Syria, for they had lain formerly at Raphanea, and sent them away to a place called *Melctine*, near Euphrates, which is in the limits of Armenia and Capadocia: he also thought fit that two of the legions should stay with him till he should go into Egypt. He then went down with his army to that *Cæsarea* which lay by the seaside, and there laid up the rest of his spoils in great quantities, and gave order that the captives should be kept there; for the winter-season hindered them from sailing into Italy.



## CHAP. II.

How Titus exhibited all sorts of shews at Cæsarea Philippi. Concerning Simon the tyrant, how he was taken and reserved for the triumph.

§ 1. Now, at the same time that Titus Cæsar lay at the siege of Jerusalem, did Vespasian go on board a merchantship, and sailed from Alexandria to Rhodes ; whence he sailed away in ships with three rows of oars, and, as he touched at several cities that lay in his road, he was joyfully received of them all, and so passed over from Ionia into Greece ; whence he set sail from Corcyra to the promontory of Iapyx, whence he took his journey by land. But, as for Titus, he marched from that Cæsarea which lay by the sea-side, and came to that which is named *Cæsarea Philippi*, and staid there a considerable time, and exhibited all sorts of shews there. And here a great number of the captives were destroyed, some being thrown to wild beasts, and others in multitudes forced to kill one another, as if they were their enemies. And here it was that Titus was informed of the seizure of Simon the son of Gioras, which was made after the manner following : This Simon, during the siege of Jerusalem, was in the upper city, but when the Roman army was gotten within the walls, and were laying the city waste, he then took the most faithful of his friends with him, and among them some that were stone cutters, with those iron tools which belonged to their occupation, and as great a quantity of provisions as would suffice them for a long time, and let himself and all them down into a certain subterraneous cavern that was not visible above ground. Now, so far as had been digged of old, they went onward along it without disturbance ; but where they met with solid earth, they dug a mine under ground, and this in hopes that they should be able to proceed so far as to rise from under ground in a safe place, and by that means escape. But when they came to make the experiment, they were disappointed of their hope ; for the miners could make but small progress, and that with difficulty also ; insomuch that their provisions though they distributed them by measure, began to fail them. And now Simon thinking he might be able to astonish and delude the Ro-

mans, put on a white frock, and buttoned upon him a purple cloak, and appeared out of the ground in the place where the temple had formerly been. At the first, indeed, those that saw him were greatly astonished, and stood still where they were; but afterward they came nearer to him, and asked him who he was? Now Simon would not tell them, but bid them call for their captain, and when they ran to call him, Terentius Rufus,\* who was left to command the army there, came to Simon, and learned of him the whole truth, and kept him in bonds, and let Cæsar know that he was taken. Thus did God bring this man to be punished, for what bitter and savage tyranny he had exercised against his countrymen, by those who were his worst enemies; and this while he was not subdued by violence, but voluntarily delivered himself up to them to be punished, and that on the very same account that he had laid false accusations against many Jews as if they were falling away to the Romans, and had barbarously slain them; for wicked actions do not escape the divine danger, nor is justice too weak to punish offenders, but in time overtakes those that transgress its laws, and inflicts its punishment upon the wicked in a manner so much more severe as they expected to escape it, on account of their not being punished immediately. † Simon was made sensible of this by falling under the indignation of the Romans. This rise of his out of the ground did also occasion the discovery of a great number of others of the seditious at that time, who had hidden themselves under ground. But for Simon, he was brought to Cæsar in bonds, when he was come back to that Cæsarea which was on the sea-side; who gave order that he should be kept against that triumph which he was to celebrate at Rome upon this occasion.

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\* This Terentius Rufus, as Reland in part observes here, is the same person whom the Talmudists call *Turnus Rufus*, of whom they relate, that he ploughed up Sion as a field, and made Jerusalem become as heaps, and the mountains of the house as the high places of a forest; which was long before foretold by the prophet Micah, iii. 12. and quoted from him in the prophecies of Jeremiah, xxvi. 18.

† See Eccles. viii. 11.

## CHAP. III.

How Titus, upon the celebration of his brother's and father's birth-days, had many of the Jews slain. Concerning the danger the Jews were in at Antioch by means of the transgression and impity of one Antiochus a Jew.

§ 1. WHILE Titus was at Cæsarea, he solemnized the birth-day of his brother [Domitian] after a splendid manner, and inflicted a great deal of the punishment intended for the Jews in honour of him; for the number of those that were now slain in fighting with the beasts, and were burnt, and fought with one another, exceeded two thousand five hundred. Yet did all this seem to the Romans, when they were thus destroyed ten thousand several ways, to be a punishment beneath their deserts. After this, Cæsar came to Berytus,\* which is a city of Phœnicia, and a Roman colony, and staid there a longer time, and exhibited a still more pompous solemnity about his father's birth-day, both in the magnificence of the shews, and in the other vast expenses he was at in his devices thereto belonging, so that a great multitude of the captives were here destroyed after the same manner as before.

2. It happened also about this time, that the Jews who remained at Antioch were under accusations, and in danger of perishing, from the disturbances that were raised against them by the Antiochians, and this both on account of the slanders spread abroad at this time against them, and on account of what pranks they had played not long before; which I am obliged to describe without fail, though briefly, that I may the better connect my narration of future actions with those that went before.

3. For, as the Jewish nation is widely dispersed over all the habitable earth among its inhabitants, so is it very much intermingled with Syria, by reason of its neighbourhood, and had the greatest multitudes in Antioch, by rea-

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\* This Berytus was certainly a Roman colony, and has coins extant that witness the same, as Hudson and Spanheim inform us. See the note on Antiq. B. xvi. ch. xi. § 1, vol. iii.

son of the largeness of the city, wherein the kings, after Antiochus, had afforded them an habitation with the most undisturbed tranquillity ; for, though Antiochus, who was called *Epiphanes*, laid Jerusalem waste, and spoiled the temple, yet did those that succeeded him in the kingdom restore all the donations that were made of brass to the Jews of Antioch, and dedicated them to their synagogue, and granted them the enjoyment of equal privileges of citizens with the Greeks themselves ; and, as the succeeding kings treated them after the same manner, they both multiplied to a great number, and adorned their temple \* gloriously by fine ornaments, and with great magnificence in the use of what had been given them. They also made proselytes of a great many of the Greeks perpetually, and thereby after a sort brought them to be a portion of their own body. But, about this time, when the present war began, Vespasian was newly sailed to Syria, and all men had taken up a great hatred against the Jews, then it was that a certain person, whose name was *Antiochus*, being one of the Jewish nation, and greatly respected on account of his father, who was governor † of the Jews at Antioch, came upon the theatre at a time when the people of Antioch were assembled together and became an informer against his father, and accused both him and others, that they had resolved to burn the whole city in one night ; he also delivered up to them some Jews that were foreigners, as partners in their resolutions. When the people heard this, they could not refrain their passion, but commanded that those who were delivered up to them should have fire brought to burn them ; who were accordingly all burnt upon the theatre immediately. They did also fall violently upon the multitude of the Jews, as supposing that, by punishing them suddenly, they should save their own city. As for Antiochus, he aggravated the rage they were in, and thought to give them a demonstration of his own con-

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\* i. e. Their synagogues. See the note on B. vi. ch. x. § 1.

† The Jews at Antioch and Alexandria, the two principal cities in all the east, had allowed them, both by the Macedonians, and afterward by the Romans, a governor of their own, who was exempt from the jurisdiction of the other civil governors. He was called sometimes barely *governor*, sometimes *ethnarch*, and, [at Alexandria] *alabarch*, as Dr. Hudson takes notice on this place out of Fuller's Miscellanies. They had the like governor or governors allowed them at Babylon under their captivity there, as the history of Susanna implies.

version, and of his hatred of the Jewish customs, by sacrificing after the manner of the Greeks ; he persuaded the rest also to compel them to do the same, because they would by that means discover who they were that had plotted against them since they would not do so ; and when the people of Antioch tried the experiment, some few complied, but those that would not do so were slain. As for Antiochus himself, he obtained soldiers from the Roman commander, and became a severe master over his own citizens, not permitting them to rest on the seventh day, but forcing them to do all that they usually did on other days ; and to that degree of distress did he reduce them in this matter, that the rest of the seventh day was dissolved not only at Antioch, but the same thing which took thence its rise, was done in other cities also, in like manner, for some small time.

4. Now, after these misfortunes had happened to the Jews at Antioch, a second calamity befel them, the description of which when we were going about, we premised the account foregoing ; for, upon this accident, whereby the four-square market-place was burnt down, as well as the archives, and the place where the public records were preserved, and the royal palaces, (and it was not without difficulty that the fire was then put a stop to, which was likely, by the fury wherewith it was carried along, to have gone over the whole city), Antiochus accused the Jews as the occasion of all the mischief that was done. Now, this induced the people of Antioch, who were now under the immediate persuasion, by reason of the disorder they were in, that this calumny was true, and would have been under the same persuasion, even though they had not borne an ill-will at the Jews before, to believe this man's accusation, especially when they considered what had been done before, and this to such a degree, that they all fell violently upon those that were accused, and this like madmen, in a very furious rage also, even as if they had seen the Jews in a manner setting fire themselves to the city ; nor was it without difficulty that one Cneus Collegas, the legate, could prevail with them to permit the affairs to be laid before Cæsar ; for as to Cecennius Petus, the president of Syria, Vespasian had already sent him away ; and so it happened, that he was not yet come back thither. But when Collegas had made a careful inquiry about the matter, he

found out the truth, and that not one of those Jews that were accused by Antiochus had any hand in it, but that all was done by some vile persons greatly in debt, who supposed that if they could once set fire to the market-place, and burn the public records, they should have no farther demands made upon them. So the Jews were under great disorder and terror, in the uncertain expectations of what would be the upshot of these accusations against them.

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#### CHAP. IV.

How Vespasian was received at Rome ; as also how the Germans revolted from the Romans, but were subdued. That the Samaritans over-ran Mysia, but were compelled to return to their own country again.

§ 1. And now Titus Cæsar, upon the news that was brought him concerning his father, that his coming was much desired by all the Italian cities, and that Rome especially received him with great alacrity and splendour, betook himself to rejoicing and pleasures to a great degree, as now freed from the solicitude he had been under, after the most agreeable manner. For all men that were in Italy shewed their respects to him in their minds, before he came thither, as if he were already come, as esteeming the very expectation they had of him to be his real presence, on account of the great desires they had to see him, and because the good-will they bore him was entirely free and unconstrained ; for it was a desirable thing to the senate, who well remembered the calamities they had undergone in the late changes of their governors, to receive a governor who was adorned with the gravity of old age, and with the highest skill in the actions of war, whose advancement would be, as they knew, for nothing else but for the preservation of those that were to be governed. Moreover the people had been so harassed by their civil miseries, that they were still more earnest for his coming immediately, as supposing they should then be firmly delivered from their calamities, and believed they should then recover their secure tranquility and prosperity ; and for the soldiery, they had the principal regard to him, for they were chiefly apprised of his great exploits in war ; and since they had ex-

perienced the want of skill and want of courage in other commanders, they were very desirous to be freed from that great shame they had undergone by their means, and heartily wished to receive such a prince as might be a security and an ornament to them. And, as this good-will to Vespasian was universal, those that enjoyed any remarkable dignities could not have patience enough to stay in Rome, but made haste to meet him at a very great distance from it: nay, indeed, none of the rest could endure the delay of seeing him, but did all pour out of the city in such crowds, and were so universally possessed with the opinion, that it was easier and better for them to go out than to stay there, that this was the very first time that the city joyfully perceived itself almost empty of its citizens; for those that staid within were fewer than those that went out. But as soon as the news was come that he was hard by, and those that had met him at first related with what good-humour he received every one that came to him, then it was that the whole multitude that had remained in the city, with their wives and children, came into the road, and waited for him there; and for those whom he passed by, they made all sorts of acclamations on account of the joy they had to see him, and the pleasantness of his countenance, and styled him *their benefactor* and *saviour*, and the only person who was worthy to be ruler of the city of Rome. And now the city was like a temple full of garlands and sweet odours; nor was it easy for him to come to the royal palace, for the multitude of the people that stood about him, where yet at last he performed his sacrifices of thanksgiving to his household gods, for his safe return to that city. The multitude did also betake themselves to feasting; which feasts and drink-offerings, they celebrated by their tribes, and their families, and their neighbourhoods and still prayed God to grant, that Vespasian, his sons, and all their posterity might continue in the Roman government for a very long time, and that his dominion might be preserved from all opposition. And this was the manner in which Rome so joyfully received Vespasian, and thence grew immediately into a state of great prosperity.

2. But, before this time, and while Vespasian was about Alexandria, and Titus was lying at the siege of Jerusalem, a great multitude of the Germans were in commotion, and tended to rebellion; and, as the Gauls in their neighbour-

hood joined with them, they conspired together, and had thereby great hopes of success, and that they should free themselves from the dominion of the Romans. The motives that induced the Germans to this attempt for a revolt, and for beginning the war, were these : In the first place, the nature [of the people,] which was destitute of just reasonings, and ready to throw themselves rashly into danger upon small hopes ; in the next place, the hatred they bore to those that were their governors, while their nation had never been conscious of subjection to any but to the Romans, and that by compulsion only. Besides these motives, it was the opportunity that now offered itself, which above all the rest prevailed with them so to do ; for, when they saw the Roman government in a great internal disorder, by the continual changes of its rulers, and understood that every part of the habitable earth under them was in an unsettled and tottering condition, they thought this was the best opportunity that could afford itself for themselves to make a sedition, when the state of the Romans was so ill. *Classicus*\* also and *Vitellius*,† two of their commanders, puffed them up with such hopes. These had, for a long time, been openly desirous of such an innovation, and were induced by the present opportunity to venture upon the declaration of their sentiments ; the multitude was also ready, and when these men told them of what they intended to attempt, that news was gladly received by them. So, when a great part of the Germans had agreed to rebel, and the rest were no better disposed, *Vespasian* as guided by divine Providence, sent letters to *Petilius Cerealis*, who had formerly had the command of Germany, whereby he declared him to have the dignity of consul, and commanded

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\* This *Classicus* and *Civilis*, and *Cerealis*, are names well known in *Tacitus* : the two former as moving sedition against the Romans, and the last as sent to repress them by *Vespasian*, just as they are here described in *Josephus* ; which is the case also of *Fonteius Agrippa*, and *Rubrius Gallus* in § 3. But, as to the very favourable account presently given of *Domitian*, particularly as to his designs in this his Gallic and German expedition, it is not a little contrary to that in *Suetonius*, *Vesp.* § 7. Nor are the reasons unobvious that might occasion this great diversity : *Domitian* was one of *Josephus*'s patrons and when he published these books of the Jewish war, he was very young, and had hardly began those wicked practices which rendered him so infamous afterward ; while *Suetonius* seems to have been too young, and too low in life to receive any remarkable favours from him ; as *Domitian* was certainly very lewd and cruel, and generally hated when *Suetonius* wrote about him.

† *Civilis*. *Tacit.*



him to take upon him the government of Britain; so he went whither he was ordered to go, and when he was informed of the revolt of the Germans, he fell upon them as soon as they were gotten together, and put his army in battle-array, and slew a great multitude of them in the fight, and forced them to leave off their madness, and to grow wiser; nay, had he not fallen thus suddenly upon them on the place, it had not been long ere they would, however, have been brought to punishment; for, as soon as ever the news of their revolt was come to Rome, and Cæsar Domitian was made acquainted with it, he made no delay even at that his age, when he was exceeding young, but undertook this weighty affair. He had a courageous mind from his father, and had made greater improvements than belonged to such an age: accordingly, he marched against the barbarians immediately; whereupon, their hearts failed them at the very rumour of his approach, and they submitted themselves to him with fear, and thought it an happy thing that they were brought under their old yoke again without suffering any farther mischiefs. When therefore Domitian had settled all the affairs of Gaul in such good order, that it would not be easily put into disorder any more, he returned to Rome with honour and glory, as having performed such exploits as were above his own age, but worthy of so great a farther.

3. At the very same time with the forementioned revolt of the Germans, did the bold attempt of the Scythians against the Romans concur; for those Scythians who are called *Sarmatians*, being a very numerous people, transported themselves over the Danube into Mysia, without being perceived; after which, by their violence and entirely unexpected assault, they slew a great many of the Romans that guarded the frontiers; and, as the consular legate Fonteius Agrippa came to meet them, and fought courageously against them, he was slain by them. They then over-ran all the region that had been subject to him, tearing and rending every thing that fell in their way. But when Vespasian was informed of what had happened, and how Mysia was laid waste, he sent away Rubruis Gallus to punish these Sarmatians; by whose means many of them perished in the battles he fought against them, and that part which escaped fled with fear to their own country. So, when this general had put an end to the war, he pro-

vided for the future security of the country also ; for he placed more and more numerous garrisons in the place, till he made it altogether impossible for the barbarians to pass over the river any more. And thus had this war in My-sia a sudden conclusion.

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## CHAP. V.

Concerning the Sabbatic river, which Titus saw as he was journeying through Syria ; and how the people of Antioch came with a petition to Titus against the Jews, but were rejected by him ; as also concerning Titus' and Vespasian's triumph.

§ 1. Now Titus Cæsar tarried some time at Berytus, as we told you before. He thence removed, and exhibited magnificent shews in all those cities of Syria through which he went, and made use of the captive Jews as public instances of the destruction of that nation. He then saw a river as he went along, of such a nature as deserves to be recorded in history : it runs in the middle between Arcea, belonging to Agrippa's kingdom, and Raphanea. It hath somewhat very peculiar in it : for, when it runs, its current is strong, and has plenty of water ; after which its springs fail for six days together, and leave its channel dry, as any one may see ; after which days it runs on the seventh day as it did before, and as though it had undergone no change at all ; it hath also been observed to keep this order perpetually and exactly : whence it is that they call it the *Sabbatic river*, \* that name being taken from the sacred seventh day among the Jews.

2. But, when the people of Antioch were informed that Titus was approaching, they were so glad at it that they could not keep within their walls, but hasted away to give him the meeting ; nay, they proceeded as far as thirty furlongs, and more, with that intention. These

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\* Since in these latter ages this *Sabbatic river*, once so famous, which, by Josephus's account here, ran every *seventh* day, and rested on *six*, but according to Pliny, Nat. Hist. xxi. 11. ran perpetually on *six* days, and rested every *seventh*, (though it no way appears by either of their accounts, that the *seventh day* of this river was the Jewish *seventh day* or Sabbath), is quite vanished, I shall say no more about it ; only see Dr. Hudson's note. In Varenius's Geography, l. 17. the reader will find several instances of such periodical fountains and rivers, though none of their periods were that of a just week, as of old this appears to have been.

were not the men only, but a multitude of women also, with their children, did the same ; and when they saw him coming up to them, they stood on both sides of the way, and stretched out their right hands, saluting him, and making all sorts of acclamations to him, and turned back together with him. They also, among all the acclamations they made to him, besought him all the way they went to eject the Jews out of their city : yet did not Titus at all yield to this their petition, but gave them the bare hearing of it quietly. However, the Jews were in a great deal of terrible fear under the uncertainty they were in what his opinion was, and what he would do to them. For Titus did not stay at Antioch, but continued his progress immediately to Zeugma, which lies upon the Euphrates, whither came to him messengers from Vologeses king of Parthia, and brought him a crown of gold upon the victory he had gained over the Jews ; which he accepted of, and feasted the king's messengers, and then came back to Antioch. And when the senate and people of Antioch earnestly entreated him to come upon their theatre, were their whole multitude was assembled, and expected him, he complied with great humanity ; but when they pressed him with much earnestness, and continually begged of him, that he would eject the Jews out of their city, he gave them this very pertinent answer, " How can this be done, since " that country of theirs, whither the Jews must be obliged then to retire, is destroyed, and no place will receive them besides." Whereupon the people of Antioch, when they had failed of success in this their first request, made him a second ; for they desired that he would order those tables of brass to be removed, on which the Jews' privileges were engraven. However, Titus would not grant that neither, but permitted the Jews of Antioch, to continue to enjoy the very same privileges in that city which they had before, and then departed for Egypt ; and, as he came to Jerusalem in his progress, and compared the melancholy condition he saw it then in with the ancient glory of the city, and called to mind the greatness of its present ruins, as well as its ancient splendour, he could not but pity the destruction of the city, so far was he from boasting, that so great and goodly a city as that was, had been by him taken by force ; nay, he frequently cursed those that had been the authors of their revolt, and had brought such a punishment upon the city ; insomuch, that it openly ap-

peared, that he did not desire that such a calamity as this punishment of theirs amounted to, should be a demonstration of his courage. Yet was there no small quantity of the riches that had been in that city still found among its ruins, a great deal of which the Romans dug up ; but the greatest part was discovered by those who were captives, and so they carried it away ; I mean the gold and the silver, and the rest of that most precious furniture which the Jews had, and which the owners had treasured up under ground against the uncertain fortunes of war.

3. So Titus took the journey he intended to Egypt, and passed over the desert very suddenly, and came to Alexandria, and took up a resolution to go to Rome by sea. And, as he was accompanied by two legions, he sent each of them again to the places whence they had before come ; the fifth he sent to Mysia, and the fifteenth to Pannonia ; as for the leaders of the captives, Simon and John, with the other seven hundred men, whom he had selected out of the rest, as being eminently tall and handsome of body, he gave order that they should be soon carried to Italy, as resolving to produce them in his triumph. So, when he had had a prosperous voyage to his mind, the city of Rome behaved itself in his reception, and their meeting him at a distance, as it did in the case of his father. But what made the most splendid appearance in Titus's opinion was, when his father met him, and received him ; but still the multitude of the citizens conceived the greatest joy when they saw them all three \* together, as they did at this time : nor were many days overpast, when they determined to have but one triumph, that should be common to both of them, on account of the glorious exploits they had performed, although the senate had decreed each of them a separate triumph by himself. So, when notice had been given beforehand of the day appointed for this pompous solemnity to be made on account of their victories, not one of the immense multitude was left in the city, but every body went out so far as to gain only a station where they might stand, and left only such a passage as was necessary for those that were to be seen to go along it.

4. Now, all the soldiery marched out beforehand, by companies, and in their several ranks, under their several

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\* Vespasian, and his two sons Titus and Domitian.

commanders, in the night-time, and were about the gates, not of the upper palaces, but those near the temple of Isis; for there it was that the emperors had rested the foregoing night. And, as soon as ever it was day, Vespasian and Titus came out, crowned with laurel, and clothed in those ancient purple habits which were proper to their family, and then went as far as Octavian's walks: for there it was that the senate, and the principal rulers, and those that had been recorded as of the equestrian order, waited for them. Now a tribunal had been erected before the cloisters, and ivory chairs had been set upon it, when they came and sat down upon them, whereupon the soldiery made an acclamation of joy to them immediately, and all gave them attestations of their valour; while they were themselves without their arms, and only in their silken garments, and crowned with laurel; then Vespasian accepted of these shouts of theirs: but while they were still disposed to go on in such acclamations he gave them a signal of silence. And when every body entirely held their peace, he stood up, and covering the greatest part of his head with his cloak, he put up the accustomed solemn prayers: the like prayers did Titus put up also: after which prayers, Vespasian made a short speech to all the people, and then sent away the soldiers to a dinner prepared for them by the emperors. Then did he retire to that gate which was called the *Gate of the Pomp*, because pompous shews do always go through that gate; there it was that they tasted some food and when they had put on their triumphal garments, and had offered sacrifices to the gods that were placed at the gate, they sent the triumph forward, and marched through the theatres that they might be the more easily seen by the multitudes.

5. Now, it is impossible to describe the multitude of the shews as they deserve, and the magnificence of them all; such, indeed as a man could not easily think of, as performed either by the labour of workmen, or the variety of riches, or the rarities of nature: for almost all such curiosities as the most happy men ever get by piece-meal, were here one heaped on another, and those both admirable and costly in their nature; and, as all brought together on that day, demonstrated the vastness of the dominions of the Romans; for there was here to be seen a mighty quantity of silver, and gold, and ivory, contrived into all sorts

of things, and did not appear as carried along in pompous shew only, but, as a man may say, running along like a river. Some parts were composed of the rarest purple hangings, and so carried along, and others accurately represented to the life what was embroidered by the art of the Babylonians. There were also precious stones that were transparent, some set in crowns of gold, and some in other ouches, as the workmen pleased; and of these such a vast number were brought, that we could not but thence learn how vainly we imagined any of them to be rarities. The images of the gods were also carried, being as well wonderful for their largeness, as made very artificially, and with great skill of the workmen: nor were any of these images of any other than very costly materials; and many species of animals were brought, every one in their own natural ornaments. The men also, who brought every one of these shews were great multitudes, and adorned with purple garments, all over interwoven with gold; those that were chosen for carrying these pompous shews having also about them such magnificent ornaments as were both extraordinary and surprising. Besides these, one might see, that even the great number of the captives was not undorned, while the variety that was in their garments, and their fine texture, concealed from the sight the deformity of their bodies. But, what afforded the greatest surprise of all was, the structure of the pageants that were borne along; for, indeed, he that met them could not but be afraid that the bearers would not be able firmly enough to support them, such was their magnitude: for many of them were so made, that they were on three or even four storeys one above another. The magnificence also of their structure afforded one both pleasure and surprise; for, upon many of them were laid carpets of gold. There was also wrought gold, and ivory fastened about them all; and many resemblances of the war, and those in several ways, and variety of contrivances, affording a most lively portraiture of itself. For their was to be seen an happy country laid waste and entire squadrons of enemies slain; while some of them ranaway, and some were carried into captivity, with walls of great altitude and magnitude overthrown, and ruined by machines, with the strongest fortifications taken and the walls of most populous cities upon the tops of hills seized on, and an army pouring itself with-

in the walls; as also every place full of slaughter, and supplications of the enemies, when they were no longer able to lift up their hands in way of opposition. Fire also sent upon temples was here represented, and houses overthrown, and falling upon their owners:—rivers also, after they came out of a large and melancholy desert, ran down, not into a land cultivated nor as drink for men, or for cattle, but through a land still on fire upon every side; for the Jews related that such a thing they had undergone during this war. Now, the workmanship of those representations was so magnificent and lively in the construction of the things, that it exhibited what had been done to such as did not see it, as if they had been there really present. On the top of every one of these pageants was placed the commander of the city that was taken, and the manner wherein he was taken. Moreover, there followed those pageants a great number of ships; and, for the other spoils, they were carried in great plenty. But, for those \* that were taken in the temple of Jerusalem, they made the greatest figure of them all; that is, the golden table, of the weight of many talents; the candlestick also, that was made of gold, though its construction were now changed from that which we made use of: for its middle shaft was fixed upon a basis, and the small branches were produced out of it to a great length, having the likeness of a trident in their position, and had every one a socket made of brass for a lamp at the tops of them. These lamps were in number seven, and represented the dignity of the number *seven* among the Jews; and the last of all the spoils, was carried the law of the Jews. After these spoils passed by a great many men, carrying the images of victory, whose structure was entirely either of ivory, or of gold. After which, Vespasian marched in the first place, and Titus followed him; Domitian also rode along with them, and made

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\* See the representations of these Jewish vessels, as they still stand on Titus's triumphal arch at Rome, in Reland's very curious book *de Spoliis Templi*, throughout. But what things are chiefly to be noted are these: (1.) That Josephus says, the candlestick here carried in this triumph was not thoroughly like that which was used in the temple, which appears in the number of the little knobs and flowers in that on the triumphal arch, not well agreeing with Moses' description, Exod. xxv. 31—36. (2.) The smallness of the branches in Josephus, compared with the thickness of those on that arch. (3.) That the Law or Pentateuch does not appear on that arch at all, though Josephus, an eye-witness, assures us it was carried in this procession. All which things deserve the consideration of the inquisitive reader.

a glorious appearance, and rode on a horse that was worthy of admiration.

6. Now, the last part of this pompous shew was at the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, whither, when they were come, they stood still; for it was the Romans' ancient custom, to stay till somebody brought the news, that the general of the enemy was slain. This general was Simon the son of Gioras, who had then been led in this triumph among the captives: a rope had also been put upon his head, and he had been drawn unto a proper place in the forum, and had withal been tormented by those that drew him along; and the law of the Romans required that malefactors condemned to die should be slain there. Accordingly, when it was related that there was an end of him, and all the people had set up a shout for joy, they then began to offer those sacrifices which they had consecrated, in the prayers used in such solemnities, which when they had finished, they went away to the palace. And, as for some of the spectators, the emperor's entertained them at their own feast; and, for all the rest there were noble preparations made for their feasting at home; for this was a festival day to the city of Rome, as celebrated for the victory obtained by their army over their enemies, for the end that was now put to their civil miseries, and for the commencement of their hopes of future prosperity and happiness.

7. After these triumphs were over, and after the affairs of the Romans were settled on the surest foundations, Vespasian resolved to build a temple to Peace, which was finished in so short a time, and so glorious a manner, as was beyond all human expectation and opinion: for, he having now by Providence a vast quantity of wealth, besides what he had formerly gained in his other exploits, he had this temple adorned with pictures, and statues; for, in this temple was collected and repositied, all such rarities as men aforetime used to wander all over the habitable world to see, when they had a desire to see one of them after another: he also laid up therein those golden vessels and instruments that were taken out of the Jewish temple, as ensigns of his glory. But still he gave order that they should lay up their law, and the purple veils of the holy place, in the royal palace itself, and kept them there.



## CHAP. VI.

Concerning Macherus, and how Lucilius Bassus took that citadel, and other places.

§ 1. Now, Lucilius Bassus was sent as legate into Judea, and there he received the army from Cerealis Vittelianus, and took that citadel which was in Herodium, together with the garrison that was in it: after which, he got together all the soldiery that was there, (which was a large body, but dispersed into several parties,) with the tenth legion, and resolved to make war upon Macherus; for it was highly necessary that this citadel should be demolished, lest it might be a means of drawing away many into a rebellion, by reason of its strength: for the nature of the place was very capable of affording the surest hopes of safety to those that possessed it, as well as delay and fear to those that should attack it; for what was walled in was itself a very rocky hill, elevated to a very great height, which circumstance alone made it very hard to be subdued. It was also so contrived by nature, that it could not be easily ascended; for it is, as it were, ditched about with such valleys on all sides, and to such a depth, that the eye cannot reach their bottoms, and such as are not easily to be passed over, and even such as it is impossible to fill up with earth. For that valley which cuts it on the west, extends to threescore furlongs, and did not end till it came to the lake Asphaltitis; on the same side is was also, that Macherus had the tallest top of its hill elevated above the rest. But then, for the valleys that lay on the north and south sides, although they be not so large as that already described, yet is it, in like manner, an impracticable thing to think of getting over them; and for the valley that lays on the east side, its depth is found to be not less than an hundred cubits. It extends as far as a mountain that lies over-against Macherus, with which it is bounded.

2. Now, when Alexander [Janneus,] the king of the Jews, observed the nature of this place, he was the first who built a citadel here, which afterwards was demolished by Gabinus, when he made war against Aristobulus, But, when Herod came to be king, he thought the place

to be worthy of the utmost regard, and of being built upon the firmest manner, and this especially because it lay so near to Arabia; for it is seated in a convenient place on that account, and hath a prospect toward that country: he, therefore, surrounded a large space of ground with walls, and towers, and built a city there, out of which city there was a way that led up to the very citadel itself on the top of the mountain: nay, more than this, he built a wall round that top of the hill, and erected towers at the corners, of an hundred and sixty cubits high; in the middle of which place he built a palace, after a magnificent manner, wherein were large and beautiful edifices. He also made a great many reservoirs for reception of water, that there might be plenty of it ready for all uses, and those in the properest places that were afforded him there. Thus did he, as it were, contend with the nature of the place, that he might exceed its natural strength and security, which yet itself rendered it hard to be taken, by those fortifications which were made by the hands of men. Moreover, he put a large quantity of darts, and other machines of war into it, and contrived to get every thing thither, that might any way contribute to its inhabitants security, under the longest siege possible.

3. Now, within this place there grew a sort of rue,\* that deserves our wonder on account of its largeness, for it was no way inferior to any fig-tree whatsoever, either in height, or in thickness; and the report is, that it had lasted ever since the times of Herod, and would probably have lasted much longer, had it not been cut down by those Jews who took possession of the place afterward. But still in that valley, which encompasses the city on the north side, there is a certain place called *Baaras*, which produces a root † of the same name with itself: its colour is like to that of flame, and towards the evenings it sends out a

\* Spanheim observes here, that in Græcia Major and Sicily they had rue prodigiously great and durable, like this rue at Macherus.

† This strange account of the place and root *Baaras*, seems to have been taken from the magicians, and the root to have been made use of in the days of Josephus, in that superstitious way of casting out demons, supposed by him to have been derived from King Solomon; of which we have already seen he had a great opinion; Antiq. B. viii. ch. ii. § 5. vol. ii. We also may hence learn the true notion Josephus had of demons and demoniacs, exactly like that of the Jews and Christians in the New Testament, and the first four centuries. See Antiq. B. vi. ch. viii. § 2. B. xi. ch. ii. § 3. vol. ii.

certain ray like lightning ; it is not easily taken by such as would do it, but recedes from their hands, nor will yield itself to be taken quietly, until either the urine of a woman, or her menstrual blood be poured upon it : nay, even then it is certain death to those that touch it, unless any one take and hang the root itself down from his hand, and so carry it away. It may also be taken another way, without danger, which is this : They dig a trench quite round about it, till the hidden part of the root be very small : they then tie a dog to it, and when the dog tries hard to follow him that tied him, this root is easily plucked up, but the dog dies immediately, as if it were instead of the man that would take the plant away ; nor, after this need any one be afraid of taking it into their hands.—Yet, after all this pains in getting, it is only valuable on account of one virtue it hath, that if it be only brought to the sick persons, it quickly drives away those called *demons*, which are no other than the spirits of the wicked, that enter into men that are alive, and kill them, unless they can obtain some help against them. Here are also fountains of hot water, that flow out of this place, which have a very different taste, one from the other ; for some of them are bitter, and others of them are plainly sweet. Here are also many eruptions of cold waters, and this not only in the places that lie lower, and have their fountains near one another, but, what is still more wonderful, here is to be seen a certain cave hard by, whose cavity is not deep, but it is covered over by a rock that is prominent : above this rock there stand up two [hills or] breasts, as it were, but a little distant one from another ; the one of which sends out a fountain that is very cold, and the other sends out one that is very hot ; which waters, when they are mingled together, compose a most pleasant bath : they are medicinal indeed for other maladies, but especially good for strengthening the nerves. This place has in it also mines of sulphur and allum.

4. Now, when Bassus had taken a full view of this place, he resolved to besiege it, by filling up the valley that lay on the east side ; so he fell hard to work, and took great pains to raise his banks as soon as possible, and by that means to render the siege easy. As for the Jews that were caught in the place, they separated themselves from the strangers that were with them, and they forced those stran-

gers, as an otherwise useless multitude, to stay in the lower part of the city, and undergo the principal danger, while they themselves seized on the upper citadel, and held it, and this both on account of its strength, and to provide for their own safety. They also supposed they might obtain their own pardon, in case they should [at last] surrender the citadel. However, they were willing to make trial in the first place, whether the hopes they had of avoiding a siege would come to any thing, with which intention they made sallies every day, and fought with those that met them, in which conflicts they were many of them slain, as they therein slew many of the Romans. But still, it was, the opportunities that presented themselves, which chiefly gained both sides their victories; these were gained by the Jews, when they fell upon the Romans as they were off their guard; but by the Romans, when upon the other's sallies against their banks, they foresaw their coming, and were upon their guard when they received them. But the conclusion of this siege did not depend upon these bickerings; but a certain surprising accident, relating to what was done in this siege, forced the Jews to surrender the citadel. There was a certain young man among the besieged, of great boldness, and very active of his hand, his name was *Eleazar*: he greatly signalized himself in those sallies, and encouraged the Jews to go out in great numbers, in order to hinder the raising of the banks, and did the Romans a vast deal of mischief when they came to fighting. He so managed matters, that those who sallied out, made their attacks easily, and returned back without danger, and this by still bringing up the rear himself. Now it happened that, on a certain time, when the fight was over, and both sides were parted, and retired home, he, in way of contempt of the enemy, and thinking that none of them would begin the fight again, at that time staid without the gates, and talked with those that were upon the wall, and his mind was wholly intent upon what they said. Now, a certain person belonging to the Roman camp, whose name was *Rufus*, by birth an Egyptian, ran upon him suddenly, when no body expected such a thing, and carried him off, with his armour itself; while, in the mean time, those that saw it from the wall were under such an amazement, that *Rufus* prevented their assistance, and carried *Eleazar* to the Roman camp. So the

general of the Romans ordered, that he should be taken up naked, set before the city to be seen, and sorely whipped before their eyes, Upon this sad accident that befel the young man, the Jews were terribly confounded, and the city, with one voice, sorely lamented him, and the mourning proved greater than could well be supposed upon the calamity of a single person. When Bassus perceived that, he began to think of using a stratagem against the enemy, and was desirous to aggravate their grief, in order to prevail with them to surrender the city for the preservation of that man. Nor did he fail of his hope; for he commanded them to set up a cross, as if he were just going to hang Eleazar upon it immediately; the sight of this occasioned a sore grief among those that were in the citadel, and they groaned vehemently, and cried out, that they could not bear to see him thus destroyed. Whereupon, Eleazar besought them not to disregard him, now he was going to suffer a most miserable death, and exhorted them to save themselves, by yielding to the Roman power, and good fortune, since all other people were now conquered by them. These men were greatly moved with what he said, there being also many within the city that interceded for him, because he was of an eminent and very numerous family; so they now yielded to their passion of commiseration, contrary to their usual custom. Accordingly, they sent out immediately certain messengers, and treated with the Romans, in order to a surrender of the citadel to them, and desired that they might be permitted to go away, and take Eleazar along with them. Then did the Romans and their general accept of these terms; while that multitude of strangers that were in the lower part of the city, hearing of the agreement that was made by the Jews for themselves alone, was resolved to fly away privately in the night-time; but as soon as they had opened their gates, those that had come to terms with Bassus told him of it; whether it were that they envied the others deliverance, or whether it were done out of fear lest an occasion should be taken against them upon their escape, is uncertain. The most courageous, therefore, of those men that went out prevented the enemy, and got away, and fled for it; but for those men that were caught within, they were slain, to the number of one thousand seven hundred, as were the women and the children made slaves. But, as Bassus thought he must

perform the covenant he had made with those that surrendered the citadel, he let them go, and restored Eleazar to them.

5. When Bassus had settled these affairs, he marched hastily to the forest of Jarden, as it is called ; for he had heard that a great many of those that had fled from Jerusalem and Macherus formerly, were there gotten together. When he was therefore come to the place, and understood that the former news was no mistake, he, in the first place, surrounded the whole place with his horsemen, that such of the Jews as had boldness enough to try to break through, might have no way possible for escaping, by reason of the situation of their horsemen ; and for the footmen, he ordered them to cut down the trees that were in the wood whither they were fled. So the Jews were under a necessity of performing some glorious exploit, and of greatly exposing themselves in a battle, since they might perhaps thereby escape. So they made a general attack, and with a great shout fell upon those that surrounded them, who received them with great courage ; and so, while the one side fought desperately, and the others would not yield, the fight was prolonged on that account. But the event of the battle did not answer the expectation of the assailants ; for so it happened, that no more than twelve fell on the Roman side, with a few that were wounded ; but not one of the Jews escaped out of this battle, but they were all killed, being in the whole not fewer in number than three thousand ; together with Judas, the son of Jairus, their general, concerning whom we have before spoken, that he had been a captain of a certain band at the siege of Jerusalem, and by going down into a certain vault under ground, had privately made his escape.

6. About the same time it was, that Cæsar sent a letter to Bassus, and to Tiberius Maximus, who was the procurator [of Judea,] and gave order that all Judea should be exposed to sale :\* for he did not found any city there, but reserved the country for himself. However, he assigned a place for eight hundred men only, whom he had dismissed from his army, which he gave them for their habitation ; it

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\* It is very remarkable that Titus did not people this now desolate country of Judea, but ordered it to be all sold ; nor indeed is it properly peopled at this day, but lies ready for its old inhabitants the Jews, at their future restoration. See Literal Accomplishment of Prophecies, page 77.

is called *Emmaus*,\* and is distant from Jerusalem three-score furlongs. He also laid a tribute upon the Jews wheresoever they were, and enjoined every one of them to bring two drachmæ every year into the capitol, as they used to pay the same to the temple at Jerusalem. And this was the state of the Jewish affairs at this time.

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## CHAP. VII.

Concerning the calamity that befel Antiochus king of Commagene. As also concerning the Alans, and what great mischiefs they did to the Medes and Armenians.

§ 1. AND now, in the fourth year of the reign of Vespasian, it came to pass, that Antiochus, the king of Commagene, with all his family, fell into very great calamities. The occasion was this: Cecennius Petus, who was president of Syria at this time, whether it were done out of regard to truth, or whether out of hatred to Antiochus, (for which was the real motive was never thoroughly discovered,) sent an epistle to Cæsar, and therein told him, That "Antiochus, with his son Epiphanes had resolved to rebel against the Romans, and had made a league with the king of Parthia to that purpose: that it was therefore fit to prevent them, lest they prevent us, and begin such a war as may cause a general disturbance in the Roman empire." Now Cæsar was disposed to take some care about the matter, since this discovery was made; for the neighbourhood of the kingdoms made this affair worthy of a great regard; for Samosata, the capital of Commagene lies upon Euphrates, and upon any such design could afford an easy passage over it to the Parthians, and could also afford them a secure reception. Patus was accordingly believed, and had

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\* That the city Emmaus or Ammaús in Josephus and others, which was the place of the government of Julius Africanus, in the beginning of the third century, and which he then procured to be rebuilt, and after which rebuilding it was called *Nicopolis*, is entirely different from that Emmaus which is mentioned by St. Luke, xxiv. 17. See Reland's *Palestina*, lib. ii. page 429. and under the name Ammaus also. But he justly thinks that that in St. Luke may well be the same with this Ammaus before us, especially since the Greek copies here usually make it 60 furlongs distant from Jerusalem, as does St. Luke, though the Latin copies say only 30. The place also allotted for these 800 soldiers, as for the Roman garrison, in this place, would most naturally be not so remote from Jerusalem, as was the other Emmaus or Nicopolis.

authority given him of doing what he should think proper in the case; so he set about it without delay, and fell upon Commagene, before Antiochus and his people had the least expectation of his coming; he had with him the tenth legion, as also some cohorts, and troops of horsemen. These kings also came to his assistance, Aristobulus, king of the country called *Chalcidene*, and Sohemus, who was called *king of Emesa*. Nor was there any opposition made to his forces when they entered the kingdom; for no one of that country would so much as lift up his hand against them. When Antiochus heard this unexpected news he could not think in the least of making war with the Romans, but determined to leave his whole kingdom in the state wherein it now was, and to retire privately, with his wife and children, as thinking thereby to demonstrate himself to the Romans to be innocent as to the accusation laid against him. So he went away from that city as far as an hundred and twenty furlongs, into a plain, and there pitched his tents.

2. Petus then sent some of his men to seize upon Samosata, and by their means took possession of that city, while he went himself to attack Antiochus with the rest of his army. However, the king was not prevailed upon by the distress he was in to do any thing in the way of war against the Romans, but bemoaned his own hard fate, and endured with patience what he was not able to prevent. But his sons, who were young, and unexperienced in war, but of strong bodies, were not easily iuduced to bear this calamity without fighting. Epiphanes, therefore, and Callinicus, betook themselves to military force: and as the battle was a sore one, and lasted all the day long, they shewed their own valour in a remarkable manner, and nothing but the approach of night put a period thereto, and that without any diminution of their forces: yet would not Antiochus, upon this conclusion of the fight, continue there by any means, but took his wife and his daughters, and fled away with them to Cilicia, and, by so doing, quite discouraged the minds of his own soldiers. Accordingly, they revolted, and went over to the Romans, out of the despair they were in of his keeping the kingdom; and his case was looked upon by all as quite desperate. It was therefore necessary that Epiphanes and his soldiers should get clear of their enemies, before they became entirely desti-



tute of any confederates: nor were there any more than ten horsemen with him, who passed with him over Euphrates, whence they went undisturbed to Vologeses, the king of Parthia, where they were not disregarded as fugitives, but had the same respect paid them, as if they had retained their ancient prosperity.

3. Now, when Antiochus was come to Tarsus, in Cilicia, Petus ordered a centurion to go to him, and send him in bonds to Rome. However, Vespasian could not endure to have a king brought to him in that manner, but thought it fit rather to have a regard to the ancient friendship that had been between them, than to preserve an inexorable anger upon pretence of this war. Accordingly, he gave orders that they should take off his bonds, while he was still upon the road, and that he should not come to Rome, but should now go and live at Lacedemon: he also gave him large revenues, that he might not only live in plenty, but like a king also. When Epiphanes, who before was in great fear for his father, was informed of this, their minds were freed from all that great and almost incurable concern they had been under. He also hoped that Cæsar would be reconciled to them, upon the intercession of Vologeses; for although he lived in plenty, he knew not how to bear living out of the Roman empire. So Cæsar gave him leave, after an obliging manner, and he came to Rome; and as his father came quickly to him from Lacedemon, he had all sorts of respects paid him there, and there he remained.

4. Now there was a nation of the Alans, which we have formerly mentioned \* somewhere as being Scythians, and inhabiting at the lake Mœotis. This nation, about this time, laid a design of falling upon Media, and the parts beyond it, in order to plunder them; with which intention they treated with the king of Hyrcania; for he was master of that passage which king Alexander [the Great] shut up with iron gates. This king gave them leave to come through them: so they came in great multitudes, and fell upon the Medes unexpectedly, and plundered their country, which they found full of people, and replenished with abundance of cattle; while nobody durst make any resistance against them; for Pacorus, the king of the country, had fled away for fear into places where they could not easily come at

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\* This is now wanting.

him, and had yielded up every thing he had to them, and had only saved his wife and his concubines from them, and that with difficulty also, after they had been made captives, by giving them an hundred talents for their ransom. These Alans therefore plundered the country without opposition, and with great ease, and proceeded as far as Armenia, laying all waste before them. Now Tiridates was king of that country, who met them, and fought them, but had like to have been taken alive in the battle : for a certain man threw a net over him from a great distance, and had soon drawn him to him, unless he had immediately cut the cord with his sword, and ran away, and prevented it. So the Alans, being still more provoked by this fight, laid waste the country, and drove a great multitude of the men, and a great quantity of the other prey they had gotten out of both kingdoms along with them, and then retreated back to their own country.

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#### CHAP. VIII.

Concerning Massada, and those Sicarii who kept it : and how Silva betook himself to form the siege of that citadel. Eleazar's speeches to the besieged.

§ 1. WHEN Bassus was dead in Judea, Flavius Silva succeeded him as procurator there ; who, when he saw that all the rest of the country was subdued in this war, and that there was but one only strong hold that was still in rebellion, he got all his army together that lay in different places, and made an expedition against it. This fortress was called *Masada*. It was one Eleazar, a potent man, and the commander of these Sicarii, that had seized upon it. He was a descendant from that Judas who had persuaded abundance of the Jews, as we have formerly related, not to submit to the taxation when Syrenius was sent into Judea to make one ; for then it was that the Sicarii got together against those that were willing to submit to the Romans, and treated them in all respects as if they had been their enemies, both by plundering them of what they had, by driving away their cattle, and by setting fire to their houses ; for they said that they differed not at all from foreigners, by betraying in so cowardly a manner, that free-

dom which Jews thought worthy to be contended for to the utmost, and, by owning that they preferred slavery under the Romans before such a contention. Now this was in reality no better than a pretence, and a cloak for the barbarity which was made use of by them, and to colour over their own avarice, which they afterward made manifest by their own action ; for those that were partners with them in their rebellion, joined also with them in the war against the Romans, and went farther lengths with them in their impudent undertakings against them ; and when they were again convicted of dissembling in such their pretences, they still more abused those that justly reproached them for their wickedness. And indeed that was a time most fertile in all manner of wicked practices, insomuch that no kind of evil deeds were then left undone ; nor could any one so much as devise any bad thing that was new, so deeply were they all infected, and strove with one another in their single capacity, and in their communities, who should run the greatest lengths in impiety towards God, and in unjust actions towards their neighbours, the men of power oppressing the multitude, and the multitude earnestly labouring to destroy the men of power. The one part were desirous of tyrannizing over others, and the rest of offering violence to others and of plundering such as were richer than themselves. They were the Sicarii who first began these transgressions, and first became barbarous towards those allied to them, and left no words of reproach unsaid, and no works of perdition untried, in order to destroy those whom their contrivances affected. Yet did John demonstrate by his actions, that these Sicarii were more moderate than he was himself ; for he not only slew all such as gave him good counsel to do what was right, but treated them worst of all, as the most bitter enemies that he had among all the citizens ; nay, he filled his entire country with ten thousand instances of wickedness, such as a man, who was already hardened sufficiently in his impiety towards God, would naturally do : for the food was unlawful that was set upon his table, and he rejected those purifications that the law of his country had ordained ; so that it was no longer a wonder if he, who was so mad in his impiety towards God, did not observe any rules of gentleness and common affection towards men. Again, therefore, what mischief was there which Simon the son of Gioras, did

not do ? or what kind of abuses did he abstain from, as to those very free men who had set him up for a tyrant ? What friendship or kindred were there that did not make him more bold in his daily murders ? for they looked upon the doing of mischief to strangers only, as a work beneath their courage, but thought their barbarity towards their nearest relations would be a glorious demonstration thereof. The Idumeans also strove with these men, which should be guilty of the greatest madness ; for they [all], vile wretches as they were, cut the throats of the high-priests, that so no part of the religious regard to God might be preserved : they thence proceeded to destroy utterly the least remains of a political government, and introduced the most complete scene of iniquity in all instances that were practicable ; under which scene, that sort of people that were called *Zealots* grew up, and who indeed corresponded to the name ; for they imitated every wicked work ; nor, if their memory suggested any evil thing that had formerly been done, did they avoid jealousy to pursue the same ; and although they gave themselves that name from their zeal for what was good, yet did it agree to them only by way of irony, on account of those they had unjustly treated by their wild and brutish disposition, or as thinking the greatest mischiefs to be the greatest good, Accordingly, they all met with such ends as God deservedly brought upon them in way of punishment ; for all such miseries have been sent upon them as man's nature is capable of undergoing, till the utmost period of their lives, and till death came upon them in various ways of torment ; yet might one say justly that they suffered less than they had done, because it was impossible they could be punished according to their deserving. But, to make a lamentation according to the deserts of those who fell under these men's barbarity, this is not a proper place for it : I, therefore, now return again to the remaining part of the present narration.

2. For now it was, that the Roman general came, and led his army against Eleazar, and those Sicarii who held the fortress of Masada together with him ; and for the whole country adjoining, he presently gained it, and put garri-sons into the most proper places of it : he also built a wall quite round the entire fortress, that none of the besieged might easily escape : he also set his men to guard the sever-

al parts of: he also pitched his camp in such an agreeable place as he had chosen for the siege, and at which place the rock, belonging to the fortress, did make the nearest approach to the neighbouring mountain, which yet was a place of difficulty for getting plenty of provisions: for, it was not only food that was to be brought from a great distance [to the army], and this was a great deal of pain to those Jews who were appointed for that purpose, but water was also to be brought to the camp, because the place afforded no fountain that was near it. When, therefore, Silva had ordered these affairs beforehand, he fell to besieging the place; which siege was likely to stand in need of a great deal of skill and pains, by reason of the strength of the fortress, the nature of which I will now describe.

3. There was a rock, not small in circumference, and very high. It was encompassed with vallies of such vast depth downward, that the eye could not reach their bottoms: they were abrupt, and such as no animal could walk upon, excepting at two places of the rock, where it subsides, in order to afford a passage for ascent, though not without difficulty. Now, of the ways that lead to it, one is, that from the lake Asphaltitis, towards the sun-rising, and another on the west, where the ascent is easier: the one of these ways is called *the Serpent*, as resembling that animal in its narrowness and its perpetual windings; for it is broken off at the prominent precipices of the rock, and returns frequently into itself, and lengthening again by little and little, hath much ado to proceed forward; and he that would walk along it first must go on one leg and then on the other; there is also nothing but destruction in case your feet slip; for on each side there is a vastly deep chasm and precipice, sufficient to quell the courage of every body by the terror it infuses into the mind. When, therefore, a man hath gone along this way for thirty furlongs, the rest is the top of the hill not ending at a small point, but is no other than a plain upon the highest part of the mountain. Upon this top of the hill Jonathan the high-priest first of all built a fortress, and called it *Masada*; after which the rebuilding of this place employed the care of kind Herod to a great degree: he also built a wall round about the entire top of the hill, seven furlongs long: it was composed of white stone, its height was twelve, and its breadth eight cubits; there were also erected upon

this wall thirty-eight towers, each of them fifty cubits high; out of which you might pass into lesser edifices, which were built on the inside round the entire wall; for the king reserved the top of the hill, which was of a fat soil, and better mould than any valley, for agriculture, that such as committed themselves to this fortress for their preservation might not even there be quite destitute of food in case they should ever be in want of it from abroad. Moreover, he built a palace therein, at the western ascent: it was within and beneath the walls of the citadel, but inclined to its north side. Now the wall of this palace was very high and strong, and had at its four corners towers sixty cubits high. The furniture also of the edifices, and of the cloisters, and of the baths, was of great variety, and very costly; and these buildings were supported by pillars of single stones on every side; the walls also and the floors of the edifices were paved with stones of several colours. He also had cut many and great pits, as reservoirs for water, out of the rocks, at every one of the places that were inhabited both above and round about the palace, and before the wall; and by this contrivance he endeavoured to have water for several uses, as if there had been fountains there. Here was also a road digged from the palace, and leading to the very top of the mountain, which yet could not be seen by such as were without [the walls]; nor indeed could enemies easily make use of the plain roads; for the road on the east side, as we have already taken notice, could not be walked upon by reason of its nature; and for the western road, he built a large tower at its narrowest place at no less distance from the top of the hill than a thousand cubits; which tower could not possibly be passed by; nor could it easily be taken; nor indeed could those that walked along it, without any fear, such was its contrivance, easily get to the end of it: and after such a manner was this citadel fortified both by nature and by the hands of men, in order to frustrate the attacks of enemies.

4. As for the furniture that was within this fortress, it was still more wonderful on account of its splendour and long continuance: for here was laid up corn in large quantities, and such as would subsist men for a long time: here was also wine and oil in abundance, with all kinds of pulse and dates heaped up together: all which Eleazar found there, when he and his Sicarii got possession of the fortress by

treachery. These fruits were also fresh and full ripe, no way inferior to such fruits newly laid in, although they were little short of an hundred years \* from the laying in these provisions [by Herod], till the place was taken by the Romans ; nay, indeed, when the Romans got possession of those fruits that were left, they found them not corrupted all that while ; nor should we be mistaken if we supposed, that the air was here the cause of their enduring so long, this fortress being so high, and so free from the mixture of all terrene and muddy particles of matter. There was also found here a large quantity of all sorts of weapons of war, which had been treasured up by that king, and were sufficient for ten thousand men : there was cast iron, and brass, and tin, which shew, that he had taken much pains to have all things here ready for the greatest occasions : for the report goes, how Herod thus prepared this fortress on his own account, as a refuge against two kinds of danger ; the one, for fear of the multitude of the Jews, lest they should dispose him, and restore their former kings to the government : the other danger was greater and more terrible, which arose from Cleopatra, queen of Egypt, who did not conceal her intentions, but spoke often to Antony, and desired him to cut off Herod, and entreated him to bestow the kingdom of Judea upon her. And certainly it is a great wonder, that Antony did never comply with her commands in this point, as he was so miserably enslaved to his passion for her, nor should any one have been surprised if she had been gratified in such her request. So the fear of these dangers made Herod rebuild Massada, and thereby leave it for the finishing stroke of the Romans in this Jewish war.

5. Since, therefore, the Roman commander Silva had now built a wall on the outside, round about this whole place, as we have said already, and had thereby made a most accurate provision to prevent any of the besieged running away, he undertook the siege itself, though he found but one single place that would admit of the banks he was to raise : for, behind that tower which secured the road that led to the palace, and to the top of the hill, from the west, there was a certain eminency of the rock, very broad and very prominent, but three hundred cubits beneath the high-

\* Pliny and others confirm this strange paradox, that provisions laid up against sieges will continue good an hundred years, as Spanheim notes upon this place.

est part of Massada ; it was called *the white promontory*. Accordingly, he got upon that part of the rock, and ordered the army to bring earth ; and when they fell to that work with alacrity, and abundance of them together, the bank was raised, and became solid, for two hundred cubits in height. Yet was not this bank thought sufficiently high, for the use of the engines that were to be set upon it ; but still another elevated work of great stones compacted together was raised upon that bank ; this was fifty cubits both in breadth and height. The other machines that were now got ready, were like to those that had been first devised by Vespasian, and afterwards by Titus, for sieges. There was also a tower made of the height of sixty cubits, and all over plated with iron, out of which the Romans threw darts and stones from the engines, and soon made those that fought from the walls of the place to retire, and would not let them lift up their heads above the works. At the same time, Silva ordered that great battering-ram which he had made, to be brought thither, and to be set against the wall, and to make frequent batteries against it, which, with some difficulty, broke down a part of the wall, and quite overthrew it. However, the Sacarii made haste, and presently built another wall within that, which should not be liable to the same misfortune from the machines with the other : it was made soft and yielding, and so was capable of avoiding the terrible blows that affected the other. It was framed after the following manner : They laid together great beams of wood lengthways, one close to the end of another, and the same way in which they were cut : there were two of these rows parallel to one another, and laid at such a distance from each other as the breadth of the wall required, and earth was put into the space between those rows. Now, that the earth might not fall away upon the elevation of this bank to a greater height, they farther laid other beams over cross them, and thereby bound those beams together that lay lengthways. This work of theirs was like a real edifice ; and when the machines were applied, the blows were weakened by its yielding, and, as the materials by such concussion were shaken closer together, the pile by that means became firmer than before. When Silva saw this, he thought it best to endeavour the taking of this wall by setting fire to it ; so he gave order that the soldiers should throw a great number of burning



torches upon it: accordingly, as it was chiefly made of wood, it soon took fire; and, when it was once set on fire, its hollowness made that fire spread to a mighty flame. Now, at the very beginning of this fire, a north-wind that then blew proved terrible to the Romans; for, by bringing the flame downward, it drove it upon them, and they were almost in despair of success, as fearing their machines would be burnt: but, after this, on a sudden, the wind changed into the south, as if it were done by divine Providence, and blew strongly the contrary way, and carried the flame, and drove it against the wall, which was now on fire through its entire thickness. So the Romans, having now assistance from God, returned to their camp with joy, and resolved to attack their enemies the very next day, on which occasion they set their watch more carefully that night, lest any of the Jews should runaway from them without being discovered.

6. However, neither did Eleazar once think of flying away, nor would he permit any one else to do so: but when he saw their wall burnt down by the fire, and could devise no other way of escaping, or room for their farther courage, and setting before their eyes what the Romans would do to them, their children, and their wives, if they got them into their power, he consulted about having them all slain. Now, as he judged this to be the best thing they could do in their present circumstances, he gathered the most courageous of his companions together and encouraged them to take that course by a speech\* which he made to them in the manner following: "Since we, long ago, my  
 "generous friends, resolved never to be servants to the  
 "Romans, nor to any other than to God himself, who  
 "alone is the true and just Lord of mankind, the time is  
 "now come that obliges us to make that resolution true in  
 "practice. And let us not at this time bring a reproach upon  
 "ourselves for self-contradiction, while we formerly would

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\* The speeches in this and the next section, as introduced under the person of this Eleazar, are exceeding remarkable, and on the noblest subjects, the contempt of death, and the dignity and immortality of the soul; and that not only among the Jews, but among the Indians themselves also, and are highly worthy the perusal of all the curious. It seems as if that philosophic lady who survived, ch. ix. § 1, 2. remembered the substance of these discourses, as spoken by Eleazar, and so Josephus clothed them in his own words: at the lowest, they contain the Jewish notions on these heads, as understood them by our Josephus, and cannot but deserve a suitable regard from us.

“not undergo slavery, though it were then without danger, but must now, together with slavery, choose such punishments also as are intolerable : I mean this upon the supposition that the Romans once reduce us under their power while we are alive. We were the very first that revolted from them, and we are the last that fight against them ; and I cannot but esteem it as a favour that God hath granted us, that it is still in our power to die bravely, and in a state of freedom, which hath not been the case of others, who were conquered unexpectedly. It is very plain that we shall be taken within a day’s time ; but still it is an eligible thing to die after a glorious manner together with our dearest friends. This is what our enemies themselves cannot by any means hinder, although they be very desirous to take us alive. Nor can we propose to ourselves any more to fight them and beat them. It had been proper indeed for us to have conjectured at the purpose of God much sooner, and at the very first when we were so desirous of defending our liberty, and when we received such sore treatment from one another, and worse treatment from our enemies, and to have been sensible that the same God, who had of old taken the Jewish nation into his favour, had now condemned them to destruction ; for, had he either continued favourable, or been but in a lesser degree displeased with us, he had not overlooked the destruction of so many men, or delivered his most holy city to be burnt and demolished by our enemies. To be sure, we weakly hoped to have preserved ourselves, and ourselves alone, still in a state of freedom, as if we had been guilty of no sins ourselves against God, nor been partners with those of others ; we also taught other men to preserve their liberty. Wherefore, consider, how God hath convinced us that our hopes were in vain, by bringing such distress upon us in the desperate state we are now in, and which is beyond all our expectations : for the nature of this fortress which was in itself unconquerable, hath not proved a means of our deliverance ; and, even while we have still great abundance of food and a great quantity of arms and other necessities more than we want, we are openly deprived by God himself of all hope of deliverance ; for that fire that was driven upon our enemies, did not of its own accord turn back upon the wall which we had built : this

“ was the effect of God’s anger against us for our manifold  
 “ sins, which we have been guilty of in a most insolent and  
 “ extravagant manner, with regard to our own country-  
 “ men; the punishments of which let us not receive from  
 “ the Romans, but from God himself, as executed by our  
 “ own hands; for these will be more moderate than the  
 “ other. Let our wives die before they are abused, and  
 “ our children before they have tasted of slavery; and, af-  
 “ ter we have slain them, let us bestow that glorious bene-  
 “ fit upon one another mutually, and preserve ourselves in  
 “ freedom, as an excellent funeral monument for us, But  
 “ first, let us destroy our money and the fortress by fire;  
 “ for I am well assured that this would be a great grief to  
 “ the Romans, that they shall not be able to sieze upon our  
 “ bodies, and shall fail of our wealth also: and let us spare  
 “ nothing but our provisions; for they will be a testimonial  
 “ when we are dead, that we were not subdued for want of  
 “ necessities, but that according to our original resolution,  
 “ we have preferred death before slavery.”

7. This was Eleazar’s speech to them. Yet did not the opinions of all the auditors acquiesce therein; but although some of them were very zealous to put his advice into practice, and were in a manner filled with pleasure at it, and thought death to be a good thing, yet had those that were most effeminate a commiseration for their wives and families; and when these men were especially moved by the prospect of their own certain death, they looked wistfully at one another, and by the tears that were in their eyes declared their dissent from his opinion. When Eleazar saw these people in such fear, and that their souls were dejected at so prodigious a proposal, he was afraid lest perhaps these effeminate persons should by their lamentations and tears enfeeble those that heard what he had said courageously; so he did not leave off exhorting them, but stirred up himself, and recollecting proper arguments for raising their courage, he undertook to speak more briskly and fully to them, and that concerning the immortality of the soul. So he made a lamentable groan, and fixing his eyes intently on those that wept, he spake thus: “ Truly I was  
 “ greatly mistaken, when I thought to be assisting to brave  
 “ men who struggled hard for their liberty, and to such as  
 “ were resolved either to live with honour or else to die:  
 “ but I find that you are such people as are no better than

“others, either in virtue or in courage, and are afraid of  
“dying, though you be delivered thereby from the great-  
“est miseries, while you ought to make no delay in this  
“matter, nor to await any one to give you good advice,  
“for the laws of our country, and of God himself, have,  
“from ancient times, and as soon as ever we could use our  
“reason, continually taught us, and our forefathers have  
“corroborated the same doctrine by their actions, and by  
“their bravery of mind, that it is life that is a calamity  
“to men, and not death; for this last affords our souls their  
“liberty, and sends them by a removal into their own  
“place of purity, were they are to be insensible of all sorts  
“of misery; for, while souls are tied down to a mortal  
“body, they are partakers of its miseries; and really to  
“speak the truth, they are themselves dead; for the union  
“of what is divine to what is mortal, is disagreeable. It is  
“true, the power of the soul is great, even when it is im-  
“prisoned in a mortal body; for by moving it after a way  
“that is invisible, it makes the body a sensible instrument,  
“and causes it to advance farther in its actions, than mor-  
“tal nature could otherwise do. However, when it is freed  
“from that weight which draws it down to the earth, and is  
“connected with it, it obtains its own proper place, and  
“does then become a partaker of that blessed power, and  
“those abilities which are then every way incapable of  
“being hindered in their operations. It continues invi-  
“sible, indeed, to the eyes of men, as does God himself;  
“for certainly it is not itself seen, while it is in the body;  
“for it is there after an invisible manner, and when it is  
“freed from it, it is still not seen. It is this soul which  
“hath one nature, and that an incorruptible one also; but  
“yet it is the cause of the change that is made in the body  
“for, whatsoever it be which the soul touches, that lives  
“and flourishes, and from whatsoever it is removed, that  
“withers away and dies; such a degree is their in it of im-  
“mortality. Let me produce the state of sleep as a most  
“evident demonstration of the truth of what I say; where-  
“in souls, when the body does not distract them, have the  
“sweetest rest depending on themselves, and conversing  
“with God, by their alliance to him; they then go every  
“where, and foretell many futurities beforehand. And  
“why are we afraid of death, while we are pleased with  
“the rest that we have in sleep? and how absurd a thing

"is it to pursue after liberty while we are alive, and yet  
 "to envy it to ourselves where it will be eternal? We,  
 "therefore, who have been brought up in a discipline of  
 "our own, ought to become an example to others of our  
 "readiness to die. Yet, if we do stand in need of foreign-  
 "ers to support us in this matter, let us regard those In-  
 "dians who profess the exercise of philosophy; for these  
 "good men do but unwillingly undergo the time of life, and  
 "look upon it as a necessary servitude, and make haste to let  
 "their souls loose from their bodies: nay, when no misfor-  
 "tune presses them to it, nor drives them upon it, these  
 "have such a desire of a life of immortality, that they tell  
 "other men before hand, that they are about to depart;  
 "and nobody hinders them, but every one thinks them happy  
 "men, and gives them letters to be carried to their familiar  
 "friends [that are dead:] so firmly and certainly do they  
 "believe that souls converse with one another [in the  
 "other world.] So, when these men have heard all such  
 "commands that were to be given them, they deliver their  
 "body to the fire; and, in order to their getting their soul  
 "a separation from the body in the greatest purity, they  
 "die in the midst of hymns of commendations made to  
 "them; for their dearest friends conduct them to their  
 "death more readily than do any of the rest of mankind  
 "conduct their fellow-citizens, when they are going a  
 "very long journey, who at the same time weep on their  
 "own account, but look upon the others as happy persons,  
 "as so soon to be made partakers of the immortal order of  
 "beings. Are not we, therefore, ashamed to have lower  
 "notions than the Indians? and by our own cowardice  
 "to lay a base reproach upon the laws of our country  
 "which are so much desired and imitated by all man-  
 "kind? But put the case that we had been brought up  
 "under another persuasion, and taught that life is the  
 "greatest good which men are capable of, and that  
 "death is a calamity; however, the circumstances we  
 "are now in ought to be an inducement to us to bear such  
 "calamity courageously, since it is by the will of God,  
 "and by necessity that we are to die; for it now appears  
 "that God hath made such a decree against the whole  
 "Jewish nation, that we are to be deprived of this life  
 "which [he knew] we would not make a due use of. For  
 "do not you ascribe the occasion of our present condition  
 "to yourselves, nor think the Romans are the true occa-

" sion that this war we have had with them is become so de-  
 " structive to us all : these things have not come to pass by  
 " their power, but a more powerful cause hath intervned,  
 " and made us afford them an occasion of their appear-  
 " ing to be conquerors over us. What Roman weapeons,  
 " I pray you, were those, by which the Jews of Cæsarea  
 " were slain ? On the contrary, when they were no way  
 " disposed to rebel, but were all the while keeping their  
 " seventh day festival, and did not so much as lift up their  
 " hands against the citizens of Cæsarea, yet did those citi-  
 " zens run upon them in great crowds, and cut their  
 " throats, and the throats of their wives and children, and  
 " this without any regard to the Romans themselves, who  
 " never took us for their enemies till we revolted from  
 " them. But some may be ready to say, that truly the  
 " people of Cæsarea had always a quarrel against those  
 " that lived among them, and that, when an opportunity  
 " offered itself, they only satisfied the old rancour they  
 " had against them. What then shall we say to those of  
 " Scythopolis, who ventured to wage war with us on ac-  
 " count of the Greeks ? Nor did they do it by way of re-  
 " venge upon the Romans, when they acted in concert with  
 " our countrymen. Wherefore, you see how little our  
 " good-will and fidelity to them profited us, while they  
 " were slain, they and their whole families, after the most  
 " inhuman manner, which was all the requital that was  
 " made them for the assistance they had afforded the others :  
 " for that very same destruction which they had prevented  
 " from falling upon the others, did they suffer themselves  
 " from them, as if they had been ready to be the actors a-  
 " gainst them. It would be too long for me to speak at  
 " this time of every destruction brought upon us ; for you  
 " cannot but know, that there was not any one Syrian city,  
 " which did not slay their Jewish inhabitants, and were  
 " not more bitter enemies to us than were the Romans  
 " themselves : nay, even those of Damascus, \* when they  
 " were able to allege no tolerable pretence against us, fil-  
 " led their city with the most barbarous slaughters of our  
 " people, and cut the throats of eighteen thousand Jews,  
 " with their wives and children. And, as to the multitude  
 " of those that were slain in Egypt, and that with torments

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\* See B. ii. ch. xx. s. 2, where the number of the slain is but 10,000.

“ also, we have been informed they were more than sixty  
“ thousand ; those indeed being in a foreign country, and  
“ so naturally meeting with nothing to oppose against  
“ their enemies, were killed in the manner forementioned.  
“ As for all those of us who have waged war against the  
“ Romans, in our own country, had we not sufficient reason  
“ to have sure hopes of victory ? For we had arms, and  
“ walls, and fortresses so prepared as not to be easily ta-  
“ ken, and courage not to be moved by any dangers in the  
“ cause of liberty, which encouraged us all to revolt from  
“ the Romans. But then these advantages sufficed us but  
“ for a short time, and only raised our hopes, while they  
“ really appeared to be the origin of our miseries ; for all  
“ we had hath been taken from us, and all hath fallen un-  
“ der our enemies, as if these advantages were only to ren-  
“ der their victory over us the more glorious, and were not  
“ disposed for the preservation of those by whom these pre-  
“ parations were made. And, as for those that are alrea-  
“ dy dead in the war, it is reasonable we should esteem them  
“ blessed, for they are dead in defending, and not in be-  
“ traying their liberty ; but, as to the multitude of those  
“ that are now under the Romans, who would not pity their  
“ condition ? and who would not make haste to die, before  
“ he would suffer the same miseries with them ? Some of  
“ them have been put upon the rack, and tortured with fire  
“ and whippings, and so died. Some have been half-de-  
“ voured by wild beasts, and yet have been reserved alive  
“ to be devoured by them a second time, in order to  
“ afford laughter and sport to our enemies ; and such  
“ of those as are alive still, are to be looked on as the  
“ most miserable, who being so desirous of death, could  
“ not come at it. And, where is now that great city,  
“ the metropolis of the Jewish nation ? which was for-  
“ tified by so many walls round about, which had  
“ so many fortresses, and large towers to defend it,  
“ which could hardly contain the instruments prepared for  
“ the war, and which had so many ten thousands of men to  
“ fight for it ? Where is this city that was believed to have  
“ God himself inhabiting therein ? It is now demolished to  
“ the very foundations, and hath nothing but that monu-  
“ ment of it preserved, I mean the camp of those that hath  
“ destroyed it, which still dwells upon its ruins ; some un-  
“ fortunate old men also lie upon the ashes of the temple,

"and a few women are there preserved alive by the enemy,  
 "for our bitter shame and reproach. Now, who is there  
 "that revolves these things in his mind, and yet is able  
 "to bear the sight of the sun, though he might live  
 "out of danger? Who is there so much his country's  
 "enemy, or so unmanly, and so desirous of living, as  
 "not to repent that he is still alive? And I cannot but wish  
 "that we had all died, before we had seen that holy city de-  
 "molished by the hands of our enemies, or the foundations  
 "of our holy temple dug up after so profane a manner. But  
 "since we had a generous hope that deluded us, as we might  
 "perhaps have been able to revenge ourselves on our enemies  
 "on that account, though it be now become vanity, and hath  
 "left us alone in this distress, let us make haste to die brave-  
 "ly. Let us pity ourselves, our children, and our wives  
 "while it is in our own power to shew pity to to them ;  
 "for we \* were born to die, as well as those were whom  
 "we have begotten ; nor is it in the power of the most  
 "happy of our race to avoid it. But, for abuses and slave-  
 "ry, and the sight of our wives led away after an ignominious  
 "manner, with their children, these are not such evils as are  
 "natural and necessary among men ; although such as do  
 "not prefer death before those miseries, when it is in their  
 "power so to do, must undergo even them, on account of  
 "their own cowardice. We revolted from the Romans  
 "with great pretensions to courage, and when, at the very  
 "last, they invited us to preserve ourselves, we would not  
 "comply with them. Who will not, therefore, believe  
 "that they will certainly be in a rage at us, in case they  
 "can take us alive? Miserable will then be the young men,  
 "who will be strong enough in their bodies to sustain many  
 "torments ; miserable also will be those of elder years, who  
 "will not be able to bear those calamities which young  
 "men might sustain. One man will be obliged to hear the  
 "voice of his son implore help of his father, when his  
 "hands are bound. But certainly our hands are still at  
 "liberty, and have a sword in them, let them then be sub-  
 "servient to us in our glorious design ; let us die before we  
 "become slaves under our enemies, and let us go out of the  
 "world, together with our children, and our wives, in a

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\* Reland here sets down a parallel aphorism of one of the Jewish Rab-  
 bins, "We are born that we may die, and die that we may live."



“state of freedom. This it is that our laws command us  
 “to do ; this it is that our wives and children crave at our  
 “hands ; nay, God himself hath brought this necessity up-  
 “on us ; while the Romans desire the contrary, and are  
 “afraid lest any of us should die before we are taken. Let  
 “us therefore, make haste, and instead of affording them  
 “so much pleasure, as they hope for in getting us under  
 “their power, let us leave them an example which shall at  
 “once cause their astonishment at our death, and their ad-  
 “miration of our hardiness therein.”

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### CHAP. IX.

How the people that were in the fortress were prevailed on by the words of Eleazar, two women and five children only excepted, and all submitted to be killed by one another.

§ 1. Now, as Eleazar was proceeding on this exhortation, they all cut him off short, and made haste to do the work, as full of an unconquerable ardour of mind, and moved with a demoniacal fury. So they went their ways, as one still endeavouring to be before another, and as thinking that this eagerness would be a demonstration of their courage and good conduct, if they could avoid appearing in the last class ; so great was the zeal they were in to slay their wives, and children, and themselves also. Nor, indeed when they came to the work itself did their courage fail them, as one might imagine it would have done, but they then held fast the same resolution, without wavering, which they had upon the hearing of Eleazar's speech, while yet every one of them still retained their natural passion of love to themselves and their families, because the reasoning they went upon appeared to them to be very just, even with regard to those that were dearest to them ; for the husbands tenderly embraced their wives, and took their children into their arms, and gave the longest parting-kisses to them, with tears in their eyes. Yet at the same time did they complete what they had resolved on, as if they had been executed by the hands of strangers ; and they had nothing else for their comfort, but the necessity they were in of doing this execution to avoid that prospect they had of the miseries they were to suffer from their enemies. Nor

was there at length any one of these men found who scrupled to act their part in this terrible execution, but every one of them dispatched his dearest relations. Miserable men indeed were they ! whose distress forced them to slay their own wives and children with their own hands, as the lightest of those evils that were before them. So they, being not able to bear the grief they were under for what they had done any longer, and esteeming it an injury to those they had slain, to live even the shortest space of time after them, they presently laid all they had upon a heap, and set fire to it. They then chose ten men by lot, out of them, to slay all the rest ; every one of which laid himself down by his wife and children, on the ground, and threw his arms about them ; and they offered their necks to the stroke of those who by lot executed that melancholy office : and when these ten had, without fear, slain them all, they made the same rule for casting lots for themselves, that he whose lot it was should first kill the other nine. and after all should kill himself. Accordingly all these had courage sufficient to be no way behind one another in doing or suffering so for conclusion, the nine offered their necks to the executioner, and he who was the last of all took a view of all the other bodies, lest perchance some or other among so many that were slain should want his assistance to be quite dispatched, and when he perceived that they were all slain, he set fire to the palace, and, with the great force of his hand, ran his sword entirely through himself, and fell down dead near to his own relations. So, these people died with this intention, that they would leave not so much as one soul among them all alive to be subject to the Romans. Yet was there an ancient woman, and another who was of kin to Eleazar, and superior to most women in prudence and learning, with five children, who had concealed themselves in caverns under ground, and had carried water thither for their drink, and were hidden there when the rest were intent upon the slaughter of one another. Those others were nine hundred and sixty in number, the women and children being withall included in that computation. This calamitous slaughter was made on the fifteenth day of the month Xanthicus [Nisan.]

2. Now, for the Romans, they expected that they should be fought in the morning, when, accordingly they put on their armour, and laid bridges of planks upon their ladders from

their banks, to make an assault upon the fortress, which they did; but saw nobody as an enemy, but a terrible solitude upon every side, with a fire within the place, as well as a perfect silence. So, they were at a loss to guess at what had happened. At length they made a shout, as if it had been a blow given by the battering-ram, to try whether they could bring any one out that was within; the women heard this noise, and came out of their under ground cavern, and informed the Romans what had been done, as it was done, and the second of them clearly described all, both what was said and what was done, and the manner of it, yet did they not easily give their attention to such a desperate undertaking, and did not believe it could be as they said; they also attempted to put the fire out, and quickly cutting themselves away through it, they came within the palace, and so met with the multitude of the slain, but could take no pleasure in the fact, though it were done to their enemies. Nor could they do other than wonder at the courage of their resolution, and the immoveable contempt of death which so great a number of them had shewn when they went through with such an action as that was.

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#### CHAP. X.

That many of the Sicarii fled to Alexandria also, and what dangers they were in there; on which account that temple which had formerly been built by Onias, the high-priest, was destroyed.

§ 1. WHEN Massada was thus taken, the general left a garrison in the fortress to keep it, and he himself went away to Cæsarea; for there were now no enemies left in the country, but it was all overthrown by so long a war. Yet did this war afford disturbances and dangerous disorders even in places very far remote from Judea; for still it came to pass, that many Jews were slain at Alexandria, in Egypt: for as many of the Sicarii as were able to fly thither, out of the seditious wars in Judea, were not content to have saved themselves, but must needs be undertaking to make new disturbances, and persuaded many of those that entertained them to assert their liberty, to esteem the Romans to be no better than themselves, and to look upon God as their only Lord and Master. But, when

part of the Jews of reputation opposed them; they slew some of them, and with the others they were very pressing in their exhortations to revolt from the Romans; but when the principal men of the senate saw what madness they were come to, they thought it no longer safe for themselves to overlook them. So they got all the Jews together to an assembly, and accused the madness of the Sicarii, and demonstrated that they had been the authors of all the evils that had come upon them. They said also, That “ these men, now they were runaway from Judea, having no sure hopes of escaping, because, as soon as ever they shall be known, they will be soon destroyed by the Romans, they come hither, and fill us full of those calamities which belong to them, while we have not been partakers with them in any of their sins.” Accordingly, they exhorted the multitude to have a care, lest they should be brought to destruction by their means, and make their apology to the Romans for what had been done, by delivering these men up to them: who, being thus apprised of the greatness of the danger they were in, complied with what was proposed, and ran with great violence upon the Sicarii and seized upon them: and indeed six hundred of them were caught immediately; but, as to those that had fled into Egypt,\* and to the Egyptian Thebes, it was not long ere they were caught also, and brought back whose courage, or whither we ought to call it madness, or hardiness, in their opinions, every body was amazed at. For, when all sorts of torments and vexations of their bodies, that could be devised were made use of to them, they could not get any one of them to comply so far as to confess, or seem to confess, that Cæsar was their lord; but they preserved their own opinion, in spite of all the distress they were brought to, as if they received those torments, and the fire itself, with bodies insensible of pain, and with a soul that in a manner rejoiced under them. But what was most of all astonishing to the beholders, was the age of these children, for not one

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\* Since Josephus here informs us, that some of these Sicarii, or Ruffians went from Alexandria, (which is of itself in Egypt, in a large sense,) into Egypt, and Thebes, there situated. Reland well observes from Vossius, that Egypt sometimes denotes Proper or Upper Egypt, as distinct from Delta, and the lower parts near Palestine. Accordingly, as he adds, those that say it never rains in Egypt, must mean the Proper or Upper Egypt, because it does sometimes rain in the other parts. See the notes on Antiq. B. ii, ch. vii. § 7. and B. iii. ch. i. § 6. vol. i.

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made the structure of the altar in imitation of that in our own country, and in like manner adorned with gifts, excepting the make of the candlestick, for he did not make a candlestick, but had a [single] lamp hammered out of a piece of gold, which illuminated the place with its rays, and which he hung by a chain of gold ; but the entire temple was encompassed with a wall of burnt brick, though it had gates of stone. The king also gave him a large country for a revenue in money, that both the priests might have a plentiful provision made for them, and that God might have great abundance of what things were necessary for his worship. Yet did not Onias do this out of a sober disposition, but he had a mind to contend with the Jews at Jerusalem, and could not forget the indignation he had for being banished thence. Accordingly, he thought that by building this temple, he should draw away a great number from them to himself. There had been also a certain ancient prediction made by [a prophet], whose name was *Isaiah*, about six hundred years before, that this temple should be built by a man that was a Jew in Egypt.\* And this is the history of the building of that temple.

4. And now Lupus, the governor of Alexandria, upon the receipt of Cæsar's letter, came to the temple and carried out of it some of the donations dedicated thereto, and shut up the temple itself. And, as Lupus died a little afterward, Paulinus succeeded him. This man left none of those donations there, and threatened the priests severely, if they did not bring them all out ; nor did he permit any who were desirous of worshipping God there so much as to come near the whole sacred place. But, when he had shut up the gates, he made it entirely inaccessible insomuch that there remained no longer the least footsteps of any divine worship that had been in that place. Now, the duration of this time, from the building of this temple, till it was shut up again, was three hundred and forty-three years.

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\* Isa. xix. 18—23.

## CHAP. XI.

Concerning Jonathan one of the Sicarii, that stirred up a sedition in Cyrene, and was a false accuser [of the innocent.]

§ 1. AND now did the madness of the Sicarii, like a disease, reach as far as the cities of Cyrene; for one Jonathan, a vile person, and by trade a weaver came thither, and prevailed with no small number of the poorer sort to give ear to him: he also led them into the desert, upon promising them, that he would shew them signs and apparitions. And as for the other Jews of Cyrene he concealed his knavery from them, and put tricks upon them; but those of the greatest dignity among them informed Catullus, the governor of the Libyan Pentapolis, of his march into the deserts, and of the preparations he had made for it. So he sent out after him both horsemen and footmen, and easily overcame them, because they were unarmed men; of these many were slain in the fight, but some were taken alive and brought to Catullus. As for Jonathan, the head of this plot, he fled away at that time; but upon a great and very diligent search which was made all the country over for him, he was at last taken. And, when he was brought to Catullus, he devised a way whereby he both escaped punishment himself, and afforded an occasion to Catullus of doing much mischief; for he falsely accused the richest men among the Jews, and said, that they had put him upon what he did.

2. Now Catullus easily admitted of these his calumnies, and aggravated matters greatly, and made tragical exclamations, that he might be also supposed to have had an hand in the finishing of the Jewish war. But, what was still harder, he did not only give a too easy belief to his stories, but he taught the Sicarii to accuse men falsely. He bid this Jonathan, therefore, to name one Alexander, a Jew, (with whom he had formerly had a quarrel, and openly professed that he hated him;) he also got him to name his wife Berenice, as concerned with him. These two Catullus ordered to be slain in the first place; nay, after them he caused all the rich and wealthy Jews to be slain, being no fewer in all than three thousand. This he

thought he might do safely, because he confiscated their effects; and added them to Cæsar's revenues.

3. Nay, indeed, lest any Jews that lived elsewhere should convict him of this villainy, he extended his false accusations farther, and persuaded Jonathan, and certain others that were caught with him, to bring an accusation of attempts for innovation against the Jews that were of the best character, both at Alexandria, and at Rome. One of these, against whom this treacherous accusation was laid, was Josephus, the writer of these books. However, this plot, thus contrived by Catullus, did not succeed according to his hopes; for, though he came himself to Rome, and brought Jonathan and his companions along with him in bonds, and thought he should have had no farther inquisition made as to those lies that were forged under his government, or by his means; yet did Vespasian suspect the matter, and make an inquiry how far it was true. And, when he understood that the accusation laid against the Jews was an unjust one, he cleared them of the crimes charged upon them, and this on account of Titus's concern about the matter, and brought a deserved punishment upon Jonathan; for he was first tormented, and then burnt alive.

4. But, as to Catullus, the emperors were so gentle to him, that he underwent no severer condemnation at this time: yet, was it not long before he fell into a complicated and almost incurable distemper, and died miserably. He was not only afflicted in body, but the distemper in his mind was more heavy upon him than the other; for he was terribly disturbed, and continually cried out, "That he saw the ghosts of those whom he had slain standing before him." Whereupon he was not able to contain himself, but leaped out of his bed, as if both torments and fire were brought to him. This his distemper grew still a great deal worse and worse continually, and his very entrails were so corroded, that they fell out of his body, and in that condition he died. Thus he became as great an instance of divine Providence as ever was, and demonstrated that God punishes wicked men.

5. And, here we shall put an end to this our history; wherein we formerly promised to deliver the same with all accuracy, to such as should be desirous of understanding after what manner this war of the Romans with the Jews was managed. Of which history, how good the style is,



must be left to the determination of the readers ; but, as for its agreements with the facts, I shall not scruple to say, and that boldly, that truth hath been what I have alone aimed at through its entire composition.

**The End of JOSEPHUS'S BOOKS concerning the Destruction of the Jewish Nation.**

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS,  
OF THE  
ANTIQUITY OF THE JEWS,  
AGAINST  
APION.\*

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BOOK I.

§ 1. I SUPPOSE that, by my books of the Antiquity of the Jews, most excellent Epaphroditus,† I have made it

\* This first book has a wrong title. It is not written against Apion, as is the first part of the second book, but against those Greeks in general who would not believe Josephus's former accounts of the very ancient state of the Jewish nation, in his XX Books of Antiquities; and in particular against Agatharchides, Manetho, Cheremon, and Lysimachus. It is one of the most learned, excellent, and useful books of all antiquity; and upon Jeroni's perusal of this, and the following books, he declares, That "it seems to him a maraculus thing, how one that was an Hebrew, who had been from his infancy instructed in sacred learning, should be able to produce such a number of testimonies out of profane authors, as if he had read over all the Grecian libraries." Epist. 84, ad Magnum; and the learned Jew, Manasseh ben Israel, esteemed these books so excellent, as to translate them into Hebrew; this we learn from his own catalogue of his works, which I have seen. As to the time and place, when and where these two books were written the learned have not hitherto been able to determine them, any farther than that they were written some time after his Antiquities, or some time after A. D. 93, which indeed is too obvious at their entrance to be overlooked even by a careless peruser; they being directly intended against those that would not believe what he had advanced in those books concerning the great antiquity of the Jewish nation. As to the place, they all imagine that these two books were written where the former were, I mean at Rome; and I confess that I myself believed both these determinations, till I came to finish my notes upon these books, when I met with plain indications that they were written not at Rome, but in Judea, and this after the third of Trajan, or A. D. 100.

† Take Dr. Hudson's note here, which as it justly contradicts the common opinion, that Josephus either died under Domitian, or at least wrote nothing later than his days, so does it perfectly agree to my own determination,

evident to those that peruse them, that our Jewish nation is of very great antiquity, and had a distinct subsistence of its own originally; as also I have therein declared how we came to inhabit this country wherein we now live. Those Antiquities contain the history of five thousand years, and are taken out of our sacred books, but are translated by me into the Greek tongue. However, since I observe a considerable number of people given ear to the reproaches that are laid against us by those who bear ill-will to us, and will not believe what I have written concerning the antiquity of our nation, while they take it for a plain sign that our nation is of a late date, because they are not so much as vouchsafed a bare mention by the most famous historiographers among the Grecians, I therefore have thought myself under an obligation to write somewhat briefly about these subjects, in order to convict those that reproach us, of spite and voluntary falsehood, and to correct the ignorance of others, and withall to instruct all those who are desirous of knowing the truth, of what great antiquity we really are. As for the witnesses whom I shall produce for the proof of what I say, they shall be such as are esteemed to be of the greatest reputation for truth, and the most skilful in the knowledge of all antiquity by the Greeks themselves. I will also shew, that those who have written so reproachfully and falsely about us, are to be convicted by what they have written themselves to the contrary. I shall also endeavour to give an account of the reasons why it hath so happened, that there have not been a great number of Greeks who have made mention of our nation in their histories: I will, however, bring those Grecians to light, who have not omitted such our history, for the sake of those that either do not know them, or pretend not to know them already.

2. And now, in the first place. I cannot but greatly wonder at those men, who supposed that we must attend to none

from Justus of Tiberias, that he wrote or finished his own life after the 3d of Trajan, or A. D. 109, to which Noldius also agrees, de Herod. No. 383. "[*Epaphroditus*] Since Flavius Josephus," says Dr. Hudson, "wrote [or finished] his books of Antiquities on the 13th of Domitian, [A. D. 93] and after that wrote the memoirs of his own life, as an Appendix to the book of Antiquities, and at last his two books against Apion, and yet dedicated all those writings to Epaphroditus, he can hardly be that Epaphroditus who was formerly secretary to Nero, and was slain on the 14th [or 15th] of Domitian, after he had been for a good while in banishment, but another Epaphroditus, a freed man and procurator of Trajan, as says Grotius Luke i. 3."

but Grecians, when we are inquiring about the most ancient facts, and must inform ourselves of their truth from them only, while we must not believe ourselves nor other men; for I am convinced, that the very reverse is the truth of the case. I mean this, if we will not be led by vain opinions, but will make inquiry after truth from facts themselves; for they will find, that almost all which concerns the Greeks happened not long ago; nay, one may say, is of yesterday only. I speak of the building of their cities, the invention of their arts, and the description of their laws; and as for their care about the writing down of their histories, it is very near the last thing they set about. However, they acknowledge themselves so far, that they were the Egyptians, the Chaldeans, and the Phenicians, (for I will not now reckon ourselves among them,) that have preserved the memorials of the most ancient and most lasting traditions of mankind; for almost all these nations inhabit such countries as are least subject to destruction from the world about them; and these also have taken especial care to have nothing omitted of what was [remarkably] done among them; but their history was esteemed sacred, and put into public tables, as written by men of the greatest wisdom they had among them. But, as for the place where the Grecians inhabit, ten thousand destructions have overtaken it, and blotted out the memory of former actions; so that they were ever beginning a new way of living and supposed that every one of them was the origin of their new state, It was also late, and with difficulty that they came to know the letters they now use; for those who would advance their use of these letters to the greatest antiquity, pretend that they learned them from the Phenicians and from Cadmus; yet is nobody able to demonstrate, that they have any writing preserved from that time neither in their temples, nor in any other public monuments. This appears, because the time when those lived who went to the Trojan war, so many years afterward is in great doubt, and great inquiry is made, whether the Greeks used their letters at that time; and the most prevailing opinion, and that nearest the truth is, that their present way of using those letters was unknown at that time. However, there is not any writing which the Greeks agree to be genuine

among them ancients than Homer's poems,\* who must plainly be confessed later than the siege of Troy; nay, the report goes, that even he did not leave his poems in writing, but that their memory was preserved in songs, and they were put together afterward, and that this is the reason of such a number of variations as are found in them. As for those who set themselves about writing their histories, I mean such as Cadmus of Miletus, and Acusilaus of Argos, and any others that may be mentioned as succeeding Acusilaus, they lived but a little while before the Persian expedition into Greece. But then for those that first introduced philosophy, and the consideration of things celestial and divine among them, such as Pherecydes the Syrian, and Pythagoras, and Thales, all with one consent agree, that they learned what they knew of the Egyptians and Chaldeans, and wrote but little. And these are the things which are supposed to be the oldest of all among the Greeks, and they have much ado to believe that the writings ascribed to those men are genuine.

3. How can it then be other than an absurd thing for the Greeks to be so proud, and to vaunt themselves to be the only people that are acquainted with antiquity, and that have delivered the true account of those early times after an accurate manner? Nay, who is there that cannot easily gather from the Greek writers themselves, that they knew but little on any good foundation when they set to write, but rather wrote their histories from their own conjectures? Accordingly, they confute one another in their own books to purpose, and are not ashamed to give us the most contradictory accounts of the same things: and I should spend my time to little purpose, if I should pretend to teach the Greeks that which they know better than I already, what a great disagreement there is between Hellanicus and Acusilaus about their genealogies: in how many places Acusilaus corrects Hesiod; or after what manner Ephorus demonstrates Hellanicus to have told lies in the

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\* This preservation of Homer's poems by memory, and not by his own writing them down, and that thence they were styled *rhapsodies*, as sung by him, like ballads, by parts, and not composed and connected together in complete works, are opinions well known from the ancient commentators; though such supposal seems to myself, as well as to Fabricius, *Biblioth Græc.* i. p. 269. and to others, highly improbable. Nor does Josephus say there were no ancients writings among the Greeks than Homer's poems, but that they did not fully own any ancients writings pretending to such antiquity, which is true.

greatest part of his history ; as does Timeus in like manner as to Ephorus, and the succeeding writers do to Timeus, and all the later writers do to Herodotus : \* nor could Timeus agree with Antiochus and Philistius, or with Callias, about the Sicilian history, no more than do the several writers of the Athidæ follow one another about the Athenian affairs ; nor do the historians the like, that wrote the Argolicks, about the affairs of the Argives. And now what need I say any more about particular cities and smaller places, while, in the most approved writers of the expedition of the Persians, and of the actions which were therein performed, there are so great differences ? Nay, Thucydides himself is accused of some of writing what is false, although he seems to have given us the exactest history of the affairs of his own time.

4. As for the occasions of so great disagreement of theirs, there may be assigned many that are very probable if any have a mind to make an inquiry about them ; but I ascribe these contradictions chiefly to two causes, which I will now mention, and still think what I shall mention in the first place to be the principal of all. For, if we remember, that in the beginning, the Greeks had taken no care to have public records of their several transactions preserved, this must for certain have afforded those that would afterward write about those ancient transactions, the opportunity of making mistakes, and the power of making lies also ; for this original recording of such ancient transactions hath not only been neglected by the other states of Greece, but even among the Athenians themselves also, who pretend to be

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It well deserves to be considered, that Josephus here says, how all the following Greek historians looked on Herodotus as a fabulous author, and presently, § 14. how Manetho, that most authentic writer of the Egyptian history, greatly complains of his mistakes in the Egyptian affairs ; as also that Strabo, B. xi. p. 507, the most accurate geographer and historian, esteemed him such ; that Xenophon, the much more accurate historian in the affairs of Cyrus, implies, that Herodotus's accounts of that great man are almost entirely romantic. See the note on Antiq. B. xi. ch. ii. § 1 vol. ii. and Hutchison's Prolegomena to his edition of Xenophon's *Kypa Παιδια*, that we have already seen in the note on Antiq. B. viii. ch. x. § 3. how very little Herodotus knew about the Jewish affairs and country, and that he greatly affected what we call the *marvellous*, as Monsier Rollin has lately and justly determined ; whence we are not always to depend on the authority of Herodotus, where it is unsupported by other evidence but ought to compare the other evidence with his, and, if it preponderate, to prefer it before his. I do not mean by this, that Herodotus wilfully related what he believed to be false (as Ctesias seems to have done), but that he often wanted evidence, and sometimes preferred what was marvellous to what was best attested as really true.

*aborigines* and to have applied themselves to learning, there are no such records extant; nay, they say themselves, that the laws of Draco concerning murders, which are now extant in writing, are the most ancient of their public records; which Draco yet lived but a little before the tyrant Pisistratus.\* For, as to the Arcadians, who make such boasts of their antiquity, what need I speak of them in particular, since it was still later before they got their letters, and learned them and that with difficulty also?

5. There must therefore naturally arise great differences among writers, when they had no original records to lay their foundation, which might at once inform those who had an inclination to learn, and contradict those that would tell lies. However we are to suppose a second occasion, besides the former, of these contradictions; it is this: That those who were the most zealous to write history were not solicitous for the discovery of truth,† although it was very easy for them always to make such a profession; but their business was to demonstrate that they could write well, and make an impression upon mankind thereby; and in what manner of writing they thought they were able to exceed others, to that did they apply themselves. Some of them betook themselves to the writing of fabulous narrations; some of them endeavoured to please the cities or the kings, by writing in their commendation: others of them fell to finding faults with transactions, or with the writers of such transactions, and thought to make a great figure by so doing. And indeed these do, what is of all the things most contrary to true history; for it is the great char-

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\* About the days of Cyrus and Daniel.

† It is here well worth our observation, what the reasons are, that such ancient authors as Herodotus, Josephus, and others, have been read to so little purpose by many learned critics; viz. that their main aim has not been chronology or history, but philology, to know words, and not things, they not much entering oftentimes into the real contents of their authors, and judging which were the most accurate discoverers of truth, and most to be depended on in their several histories, but rather inquiring who wrote the finest style, and had the greatest elegance in their expressions; which are things of small consequence in comparison of the other. Thus, you will sometimes find great debates among the learned, whether Herodotus or Thucydides were the finest historians in the Ionic and Attic ways of writing, which signified little as to the real value of each of their histories; while it would be of much more moment to let the reader know, that, as the consequence of Herodotus's history, which begins so much earlier, and reaches so much wider than that of Thucydides, is therefore vastly greater; so is the most part of Thucydides, which belongs to his own times, and fell under his own observation much the most certain,

meter of true history, that all concerned therein both speak and write the same things ; while these men by writing differently about the same things, think they shall be believed to write with the greatest regard to truth. We therefore, [who are Jews,] must yield to the Grecian writers as to language and elegance of composition ; but then, we shall give them no such preference as to the verity of ancient history, and least of all as to that part which concerns the affairs of our own several countries.

6. As to the care of writing down the records from the earliest antiquity among the Egyptians and Babylonians ; that the priests were entrusted therewith, and employed a philosophical concern about it ; that they were the Chaldean priests that did so among the Babylonians, and that the Phenicians, who were mingled among the Greeks, did especially make use of their letters, both for the common affairs of life, and for the delivering down the history of common transactions, I think I may omit any proof, because all men allow it so to be. But now, as to our forefathers, that they took no less care about writing such records, (for I will not say they took greater care than the others I spoke of,) and that they committed that matter to their high-priests and their prophets, and that these records have been written all along down to our own times with the utmost accuracy ; nay, if it be not too bold for me to say it, our history will be so written hereafter ; I shall endeavour briefly to inform you.

7. For our forefathers did not only appoint the best of these priests, and those that attended upon the divine worship, for that design from the beginning, but made provision that the stock of the priests should continue unmixed and pure ; for he who is partaker of the priesthood must propagate of a wife of the same nation, without having any regard to money, or any other dignities ; but he is to make a scrutiny, and take his wife's genealogy from the ancient tables,\* and procure many witnesses to it.—And this is our practice, not only in Judea, but wheresoever any body of men of our nation do live ; and even there an exact catalogue of our priests' marriages are kept ; I mean at Egypt

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\* Of t<sup>h</sup>e accuracy of the Jews before, and in our Saviour's time, in carefully preserving their genealogies all along, particularly those of the priests, see Josephus's Life, § 1. vol iv. This accuracy seems to have ended at the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus, or however at that by Adrian.



and at Babylon, or in any other place, of the rest of the habitable earth, whithersoever our priests are scattered ; for they send to Jerusalem the ancient names of their parents in writing, as well as those of their remoter ancestors, and signify who are the witnesses also. But if any war falls out, such as have fallen out a great many of them already, when Antiochus Epiphanes made an invasion upon our country, as also when Pompey the Great and Quintilius Varus did so also. and principally in the wars that have happened in our own times ; those priests that survive them compose new tables of genealogy out of the old records, and examine the circumstances of the women that remain ; for still they do not admit of those that have been captives, as suspecting that they had conversation with some foreigners. But what is the strongest argument of our exact management of this matter, is what I am now going to say, That we have the names of our high-priests from father to son set down in our records, for the interval of two thousand years ; and if any of these have been transgressors of these rules, they are prohibited to present themselves at the altar, or to be partakers of any other of our purifications ; and this is justly or rather necessarily done, because every one is not permitted of his own accord to be a writer, nor is there any disagreement in what is written : they being only prophets that have written the original and earliest accounts of things, as they learned them of God himself by inspiration ; and others have written what hath happened in their own times, and that in a very distinct manner also.

8. For we have not an innumerable multitude of books among us, disagreeing from, and contradicting one another, [as the Greeks have], but only twenty-two \* books, which contain the records of all the past times ; which are justly believed to be divine. And of them five belong to Moses, which contain his laws, and the traditions of the origin of mankind till his death. This interval of time, from the death of Moses, till the reign of Artaxerxes king of Persia, who reigned after Xerxes, the prophets, who

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\* Which were these twenty two sacred books of the Old Testament, see the supplement to the Essay on the Old Testament p. 25—29, viz those we call *canonical*, all excepting the Canticles ; but still with this farther exception, that the first book of *apocryphal* Esdras be taken into that number, instead of our *canonical* Ezra, which seems to be no more than a later epitome of the other ; which two books of Canticles and Ezra, it no way appears that our Josephus ever saw.

were after Moses, wrote down what was done in their times in thirteen books. The remaining four books contain hymns to God, and precepts for the conduct of human life. It is true our history hath been written since Artaxerxes very particularly, but hath not been esteemed of the like authority with the former by our forefathers, because there hath not been an exact succession of prophets since that time: and how firmly we have given credit to these books of our own nation, is evident by what we do; for, during so many ages as have already passed, no one hath been so bold as either to add any thing to them, or take any thing from them, or to make any change in them; but it is become natural to all Jews, immediately and from their very birth, to esteem these books to contain divine doctrines and to persist in them, and, if occasion be, willingly to die for them, for it is no new thing for our captives, many of them in number, and frequently in time, to be seen to endure racks and deaths of all kinds upon the theatres, that they may not be obliged to say one word against our laws and the records that contain them; whereas, there are none at all among the Greeks who would undergo the least harm on that account, no, nor in case all the writings that are among them were to be destroyed; for they take them to be such discourses as are framed agreeably to the inclinations of those that write them; and they have justly the same opinion of the ancient writers, since they see some of the present generation bold enough to write about such affairs wherein they were not present, nor had concern enough to inform themselves about them from those that knew them; examples of which may be had in this late war of ours, where some persons have written histories, and published them, without having been in the places concerned, or having been near them when the actions were done; but these men put a few things together by hearsay, and insolently abuse the world, and call these writings by the name of *Historics*.

9. As for myself, I have composed a true history of that whole war, and of all the particulars that occurred therein, as having been concerned in all its transactions; for I acted as general of those among us that are named *Galileans*, as long as it was possible for us to make any opposition. I was then seized on by the Romans, and became a captive: Vespasian also, and Titus had me kept under a guard, and

forced me to attend them continually. At the first I was put into bonds, but was set at liberty afterward, and sent to accompany Titus, when he came from Alexandria to the siege of Jerusalem; during which time there was nothing done which escaped my knowledge; for what happened in the Roman camp I saw, and wrote down carefully; and what informations the deserters brought [out of the city], I was the only man that understood them. Afterward I got leisure at Rome; and, when all my materials were prepared for that work, I made use of some persons to assist me in learning the Greek tongue, and by these means I composed the history of those transactions. And I was so well assured of the truth of what I related, that I first of all appealed to those that had the supreme command in that war, Vespasian and Titus, as witnesses for me; for to them I presented those books first of all, and after them to many of the Romans who had been in the war. I also sold them to many of our own men who understood the Greek philosophy: among whom were Julius Archelaus, Herod, [king of Chalcis], a person of great gravity, and king Agrippa himself, a person that deserved the greatest admiration. Now, all these men bore their testimony to me, that I had the strictest regard to truth; who yet would not have dissembled the matter, nor been silent, if I, out of ignorance, or out of favour to any side, either had given false colours to actions, or omitted any of them.

10. There have been indeed some bad men, who have attempted to calumniate my history, and took it to be a kind of scholastic performance for the exercise of young men. A strange sort of accusation and calumny this! since every one that undertakes to deliver the history of actions truly, ought to know them accurately himself in the first place, as either having been concerned in them himself, or been informed of them by such as knew them. Now, both these methods of knowledge I may very properly pretend to in the composition of both my works; for, as I said, I have translated the Antiquities out of our sacred books; which I easily could do, since I was a priest by my birth, and have studied that philosophy which is contained in those writings: and, for the History of the War, I wrote it as having been an actor myself in many of its transactions, an eye-witness in the greatest part of the rest, and was not unacquainted with any thing whatsoever that was either said

or done in it. How impudent then must those deserve to be esteemed, that undertake to contradict me about the true state of those affairs? who, although they pretend to have made use of both the emperors' own memoirs, yet could they not be acquainted with our affairs, who fought against them.

11. This digression I have been obliged to make out of necessity, as being desirous to expose the vanity of those that profess to write histories; and I suppose I have sufficiently declared, that this custom of transmitting down the histories of ancient times hath been better preserved by those nations which are called *barbarians*, than by the Greeks themselves. I am now willing, in the next place, to say a few things to those that endeavour to prove that our constitution is but of late time, for this reason, as they pretend, that the Greek writers have said nothing about us; after which I shall produce testimonies of our antiquity out of the writings of foreigners: I shall also demonstrate, that such as cast reproaches upon our nation do it very unjustly.

12. As for ourselves, therefore, we neither inhabit a maritime country, nor do we delight in merchandise, nor in such a mixture with other men as arises from it; but the cities we dwell in are remote from the sea, and having a fruitful country for our habitation, we take pains in cultivating that only. Our principal care of all is this, to educate our children well; and we think it to be the most necessary business of our whole life to observe the laws that have been given us, and to keep those rules of piety that have been delivered down to us. Since, therefore, besides what we have already taken notice of, we have had a peculiar way of living of our own there was no occasion offered us in ancient ages for intermixing among the Greeks, as they had for mixing among the Egyptians, by their intercourse of exporting and importing their several goods; as they also mixed with the Phenicians who lived by the seaside, by means of their love of lucre in trade and merchandise. Nor did our forefathers betake themselves as did some others, to robbery, nor did they, in order to gain more wealth, fall into foreign wars, although our country contained many ten thousands of men of courage sufficient for that purpose. For this reason it was, that the Phenicians themselves came soon, by trading and navigation, to be known to the Grecians, and by their means the Egypt

tians became known to the Grecians also, as did all those people whence the Phenicians in long voyages over the seas carried wares to the Grecians. The Medes also and the Persians, when they were lords of Asia, became well known to them ; and this was especially true of the Persians, who led their armies as far as the other continent, [Europe]. The Thracians were also known to them by nearness of their countries, and the Scythians, by the means of those that sailed to Pontus ; for it was in general, that all maritime nations and those that inhabited near the eastern or western seas, became most known to those that were desirous to be writers ; but such as had their habitations farther from the sea were for the most part unknown to them ; which things appear to have happened as to Europe also where the city of Rome, that hath this long time been possessed of so much power, and hath performed such great actions in war, is yet never mentioned by Herodotus, nor by Thucydides, nor by any one of their contemporaries ; and it was very late, and with great difficulty, that the Romans became known to the Greeks. Nay, those that were reckoned the most exact historians, and Ephorus for one, were so very ignorant of the Gauls and the Spaniards, that he supposed the Spaniards, who inhabit so great a part of the western regions of the earth, to be no more than one city. Those historians also have ventured to describe such customs as were made use of by them, which they never had either done or said ; and the reason why these writers did not know the truth of their affairs was this, that they had not any commerce together ; but the reason why they wrote such falsities was this, that they had a mind to appear to know things which others had not known. How can it then be any wonder, if our nation was no more known to many of the Greeks, nor had given them any occasion to mention them in their writings, while they were so remote from the sea, and had a conduct of life so peculiar to themselves ?

13. Let us now put the case, therefore that we made use of this argument concerning the Grecians, in order to prove that their nation was not ancient, because nothing is said of them in our records ; would not they laugh at us all, and probably give the same reasons for our silence that I have now alleged, and would produce their neighbour nations as witnesses to their own antiquity ? Now, the very same thing will I endeavour to do ; for I will bring the Egyptians and

the Phenicians as my principal witnesses, because nobody can complain of their testimony as false, on account that they are known to have borne the greatest ill-will towards us : I mean this as to the Egyptians in general all of them while of the Phenicians it is known the Tyrians have been most of all in the same ill disposition towards us : yet do I confess, that I cannot say the same of the Chaldeans, since our first leaders and ancestors were derived from them, and they do make mention of us Jews in their records, on account of the kindred there is between us. Now, when I shall have made my assertions good, so far as concerns the others, I will demonstrate that some of the Greek writers have made mention of us Jews also, that those who envy us may not have even this pretence for contradicting what I have said about our nation.

14. I shall begin with the writings of the Egyptians; not indeed of those that have written in the Egyptian language, which it is impossible for me to do. But Manetho was a man who was by birth an Egyptian, yet had he made himself master of the Greek learning, as is very evident; for he wrote the history of his own country in the Greek tongue, by translating it, as he saith himself, out of their sacred records: he also finds great fault with Herodotus for his ignorance and false relations of Egyptian affairs. Now this Manetho, in the second book of his Egyptian history, writes concerning us in the following manner. I will set down his very words, as if I were to bring the very man himself into a court for a witness: "There was a king of ours whose name was *Timaus*. Under him it came to pass, I know not how, that God was averse to us, and there came, after a surprising manner, men of ignoble birth out of the eastern parts, and had boldness enough to make an expedition into our country and with ease subdued it by force, yet without our hazarding a battle with them. So, when they had gotten those that governed us under their power, they afterwards burnt down our cities, and demolished the temples of the gods, and used all the inhabitants after a most barbarous manner; nay, some they slew, and led their children and their wives into slavery. At length they made one of themselves king, whose name was *Salatis*; he also lived at Memphis, and made both the upper and lower regions pay tribute, and left garrisons in places that were the most proper for them. He chiefly aimed to secure the

" eastern parts, as foreseeing that the Assyrians, who had  
 " then the greatest power, would be desirous of that king-  
 " dom, and invade them; and, as he found in the Saite  
 " Nomos, [Seth-roite], a city very proper for his purpose  
 " and which lay upon the Bubastic channel, but with regard  
 " to a certain theologic notion was called *Avaris*, this he  
 " rebuilt, and made very strong by the walls he built about  
 " it, and by a most numerous garrison of two hundred and  
 " forty thousand armed men which he put into it to keep  
 " it. Thither Salatis came in summer time, partly to  
 " gether his corn, and pay his soldiers their wages, and  
 " partly to exercise his armed men, and thereby to terrify  
 " foreigners. When this man had reigned thirteen years,  
 " after him reigned another, whose name was *Bacon*, for  
 " forty-four years; after him reigned another, called *Apach-  
 " nas*, thirty-six years and seven months; after him *Apo-  
 " phis* reigned sixty-one years, and then *Janias* fifty years  
 " and one month; after all these reigned *Assis* forty-nine  
 " years and two months. And these six were the first rulers  
 " among them, who were all along making war with the  
 " Egyptians, and were very desirous gradually to destroy  
 " them to the very roots. This whole nation was styled  
 " *Hycsos* that is, *shepherd-kings*, for the first syllable  
 " *Hyc*, according to the sacred dialect, denotes a *king*,  
 " as is *sos* a *shepherd*; but this according to the ordinary  
 " dialect; and of these is compounded *Hycsos*: but some  
 " say that these people were *Arabians*." Now, in ano-  
 " ther copy it is said that this word doth not denote *kings*,  
 " but on the contrary denotes *captive shepherds*, and this on  
 " account of the particle *Hyc*; for that *Hyc*, with the as-  
 " piration in the Egyptian tongue again denotes *shepherds*,  
 " and that expressly also: and this to me seems the more  
 " probable opinion, and more agreeable to ancient history.  
 " [But Manetho goes on]: " These people, whom we  
 " have before named *kings*, and called *shepherds* also, and  
 " their descendants," as he says, " kept possession of Egypt  
 " five hundred and eleven years. After these," he says,  
 " That the kings of Thebais and of the other parts of Egypt,  
 " made an insurrection against the shepherds, and that  
 " there a terrible and long war was made between them."  
 " He says farther, " That under a king, whose name was  
 " *Alisphragmuthosis*, the shepherds were subdued by him,  
 " and were indeed driven out of other parts of Egypt, but

"were shut up in a place that contained ten thousand acres :  
 "this place was named *Avaris*." Manetho says, "That  
 "the shepherds built a wall round all this place, which was  
 "a large and a strong wall, and this in order to keep all  
 "their possessions and their prey within a place of strength,  
 "but that Thummosis, the son of Alisphragmuthosis, made  
 "an attempt to take them by force and by siege with four  
 "hundred and eighty thousand men to lie round about  
 "them ; but that upon his despair of taking the place by  
 "that siege, they came to a composition with them, that  
 "they should leave Egypt, and go, without any harm to be  
 "done to them, whithersoever they would ; and that, after  
 "this composition was made, they went away with their  
 "whole families and effects, not fewer in number than two  
 "hundred and forty thousand, and took their journey from  
 "Egypt, through the wilderness for Syria ; but that, as  
 "they were in fear of the Assyrians, who had then the do-  
 "minion over Asia, they built a city in that country which  
 "is now called *Judea*, and that large enough to contain this  
 "great number of men, and called it *Jerusalem*."\* Now  
 Manetho, in another book of his, says, "That this nation,  
 "thus called *shepherds*, were also called *captives* in their  
 "sacred books." And this account of his is the truth, for  
 feeding of sheep was the employment † of our forefathers in  
 the most ancient ages : and, as they led such a wandering  
 life in feeding sheep, they were called *shepherds*. Nor  
 was it without reason that they were called *captives* by the  
 Egyptians, since one of our ancestors, Joseph, told the king  
 of Egypt that he was a captive, ‡ and afterward sent for his  
 brethren into Egypt by the king's permission. But as for  
 these matters, I shall make a more exact inquiry about  
 them elsewhere.||

15. Bur now I shall produce the Egyptians as witnesses  
 to the antiquity of our nation. I shall therefore here bring  
 Manetho again, and what he writes as to the order of the  
 times in this case ; and thus he speaks : "When this peo-

\* Here we have an account of the first building of the city of Jerusalem, according to Manetho, when the Phenician shepherds were expelled out of Egypt, about thirty-seven years before Abraham came out of Haran.

† Gen. xlv. 33, 34. xlvii. 3, 4.

‡ In our copies of the book of Genesis and of Josephus, this Joseph never calls himself a *captive*, when he was with the king of Egypt, though he does call himself a *servant*, a *slave*, or a *captive*, many times in the Testament of the twelve Patriarchs, under Joseph, § 1, 11, 13, 14, 15, 16.

|| This is now wanting.



"ple or shepherds were gone out of Egypt to Jerusalem,  
 "Tethmosis the king of Egypt, who drove them out,  
 "reigned afterward twenty-five years, and four months,  
 "and then died ; after him his son Chebron took the king-  
 "dom for thirteen years; after whom came Amenophis,  
 "for twenty years and seven months; then came his sister  
 "Amesses, for twenty-one years and nine months; after  
 "her came Mephres, for twelve years and nine months;  
 "after him was Mephramuthosis, for twenty-five years and  
 "ten months; after him was Thmosis, for nine years and  
 "eight months; after him came Amenophis, for thirty years  
 "and ten months; after him came Orus, for thirty-six  
 "years and five months; then came his daughter Acen-  
 "chres, for twelve years and one month; then was her  
 "brother Rathotis, for nine years; then was Acencheres,  
 "for twelve years and five months; then came another  
 "Acencheres, for twelve years and three months; after  
 "him Armais, for four years and one month; after  
 "him was Ramesses, for one year and four months;  
 "after him came Armesses Miammoun, for sixty years  
 "and two months; after him Amenophis, for nineteen  
 "years and six months; after him came Sethosis, and  
 "Ramessus, who had an army of horse, and a naval  
 "force. This king appointed his brother Armais to  
 "be his deputy over Egypt. [In another copy it stood  
 "thus: after him came Sethosis and Ramesses, two  
 "brethren, the former of which had a naval force, and  
 "in an hostile manner destroyed those that met him upon  
 "the sea; but as he slew Ramesses in no long time after-  
 "ward, so he appointed another of his brethren to be his  
 "deputy over Egypt]. He also gave him all the other au-  
 "thority of a king, but with these only injunctions, that he  
 "should not wear the diadem, nor be injurious to the  
 "queen, the mother of his children, and that he should not  
 "meddle with the other concubines of the king, while he  
 "made an expedition against Cyprus and Phenicia, and be-  
 "sides against the Assyrians and the Medes. He then  
 "subdued them all, some by his arms, some without fight-  
 "ing, and some by the terror of his great army; and, be-  
 "ing puffed up by the great successes he had had, he went  
 "still on the more boldly, and overthrew the cities and  
 "countries that lay in the eastern parts. But after some  
 "considerable time, Armais, who was left in Egypt, did all

"those very things by way of opposition, which his brother had forbid him to do, without fear; for he used violence to the queen, and continued to make use of the rest of the concubines, without sparing any of them: nay, at the persuasion of his friends, he put on the diadem, and set up to oppose his brother. But then, he who was set over the priests of Egypt, wrote letters to Sethos, and informed him of all that had happened, and how his brother had set up to oppose him: he therefore returned back to Pelusium immediately, and recovered his kingdom again. The country also was called from his name *Egypt*; for Manetho says, that Sethosis was himself called *Egyptus*, as was his brother Armais called *Danaus*."\*

16. This is Manetho's account. And evident it is, from the number of years by him set down belonging to this interval if they be summed up together, that these shepherds, as they are here called, who were no other than our forefathers, were delivered out of Egypt, and came thence, and inhabited this country, three hundred and ninety-three years before Danaus came to Argos; although the Argives look upon him † as their most ancient king. Manetho, therefore, bears this testimony to two points of the greatest consequence to our purpose, and those from the Egyptian records themselves. In the first place, that we came out of another country into Egypt, and that withal our deliverance out of it was so ancient in time as to have preceded the siege of Troy almost a thousand years;\* but then, as to those things which Manetho adds, not from the Egyptian records, but, as he confesses himself, from some stories of an uncertain original, I will disapprove them hereafter,

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\* Of this Egyptian chronology of Manetho, as mistaken by Josephus, and of these Phenician shepherds, as falsely supposed by him, and others after him, to have been the Israelites in Egypt, see *Essay on the Old Testament*, Appendix, page 182—188. And note here, that when Josephus tells us that the Greeks or Argives looked on this Danaus as *αρχαιότατος*, *a most ancient*, or *the most ancient* king of Argos, he need not be supposed to mean, in the strictest sense, that they had no one king so ancient as he; for it is certain that they owned nine kings before him, and Inachus at the head of them. See *Authentic Records*, Part ii. page 983, as Josephus could not but know very well; but, that he was esteemed as very ancient by them, and that they knew they had been first of all denominated *Dania* from this very ancient king Danaus. Nor does this superlative degree always imply the *most ancient* of all without exception, but is sometimes to be rendered *very ancient* only, as is the case in the like superlative degrees of other words also.

† See the preceding note.

particularly, and shall demonstrate that they are no better than incredible fables.

17. I will now, therefore, pass from these records, and come to those that belong to the Phenicians, and concern our nation, and shall produce attestations to what I have said out of them. There are then records among the Tyrians, that take in the history of many years, and these are public writings, and are kept with great exactness, and include accounts of the facts done among them, and such as concern their transactions with other nations also, those I mean which were worth, remembering. Therein it was recorded, that the temple was built by king Solomon at Jerusalem, one hundred forty-three years and eight months before the Tyrians built Carthage; and in their annals the building of our temple is related; for Hirom, the king of Tyre, was the friend of Solomon our king, and had such friendship transmitted down to him from his forefathers. He thereupon was ambitious to contribute to the splendour of this edifice of Solomon's, and made him a present of one hundred and twenty talents of gold. He also cut down the most excellent timber out of that mountain which is called *Libanus*, and sent it to him for adorning the roof. Solomon also not only made him many other presents, by way of requital, but gave him a country in Gallilee also, that was called *Chabulon*.\* But there was another passion, a philosophic inclination of theirs, which cemented the friendship that was betwixt them; for they sent mutual problems to one another, with a desire to have them unriddled by each other; wherein Solomon was superior to Hirom, as he was wiser than he in other respects: and many of the epistles that passed between them are still preserved among the Tyrians. Now, that this may not depend on my bare word, I will produce for a witness Dios, one that is believed to have written the Phenician history after an accurate manner. This Dios, therefore, writes thus, in his histories of the Phenicians: "Upon the death of Abibalus, his son Hirom took the kingdom. This king raised banks at the eastern parts of the city, and enlarged it; he also joined the temple of Jupiter Olympus, which stood before in an island by itself to the city, by raising a causeway between them, and adorned that temple with donations of gold-

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\* 1 Kings ix. 13.

“He moreover went up to Libanus, and had timber’ cut down for the building of the temples. They say farther, that Solomon, when he was king of Jerusalem, sent problems to Hirom to be solved, and desired he would send others back for him to solve, and that he who could not solve the problems proposed to him, should pay money to him that solved them. And when Hirom had agreed to the proposals, but was not able to solve the problems, he was obliged to pay a great deal of money, as a penalty for the same. As also they relate that one Abdemon, a man of Tyre, did solve the problems, and propose others which Solomon could not solve, upon which he was obliged to repay a great deal of money to Hirom.” These things are attested to by Dius, and confirm what we have said upon the same subjects before.

18. And, now I shall add Menander, the Ephesian, as an additional witness. This Menander wrote the acts that were done both by the Greeks and barbarians, under every one of the Tyrian kings, and had taken much pains to learn their history out of their own records.—Now, when he was writing about those kings that had reigned at Tyre, he came to Hirom, and says thus: “Upon the death of Abibalus, his son Hirom took the kingdom; he lived fifty-three years, and reigned thirty-four. He raised a bank on that called the *Broad place*, and dedicated that golden pillar which is in Jupiter’s temple: he also went and cut down timber from the mountain called *Libanus*, and got timber of cedar for the roofs of the temples. He also pulled down the old temples, and built new ones: besides this, he consecrated the temples of Hercules, and of Astarte. He first built Hercules’s temple in the month Peritus, and that of Astarte when he made his expedition against the Tityans, who would not pay him their tribute; and, when he had subdued them to himself, he returned home. Under this king, there was a younger son of Abdemon, who mastered the problems which Solomon, king of Jerusalem, had recommended to be solved.” Now, the time from this king to the building of Carthage, is thus calculated: “Upon the death of Hirom, Beleazarus, his son, took the kingdom; he lived forty-three years, and reigned seven years: after him succeeded his son Abdastartus; he lived twenty-nine years, and reigned nine years. Now, four sons of his nurse plotted against

"him, and slew him, the eldest of which reigned twelve  
 "years : after them came Astartus, the son of Deleastar-  
 "tus ; he lived fifty-four years, and reigned twelve years ;  
 "after him came his brother Aserymus ; he lived fifty-four  
 "years, and reigned nine years ; he was slain by his broth-  
 "er Pheles, who took the kingdom, and reigned but eight  
 "months, though he lived fifty years ; he was slain by  
 "Ithobalus, the priest of Astarte, who reigned thirty-two  
 "years, and lived sixty-eight years : he was succeeded by  
 "his son Badezorus, who lived forty-five years, and reign-  
 "ed six years : he was succeeded by Matgenus his son ;  
 "he lived thirty-two years, and reigned nine years ; Pyg-  
 "malionsucceeded him ; he lived fifty-six years, and reign-  
 "ed forty-seven years. Now, in the seventh year of his  
 "reign, his sister fled away from him, and built the city  
 "of Carthage in Libya." So the whole time from the reign  
 of Hirom, till the building of Carthage, amounts to the sum  
 of one hundred fifty-five years and eight months. Since  
 then, the temple was built at Jerusalem in the twelfth year  
 of the reign of Hirom, there were from the building of the  
 temple until the building of Carthage, one hundred forty-  
 three years and eight months. Wherefore, what occasion  
 is there for alledging any more testimonies out of the Phen-  
 ician histories, [on the behalf of our nation.] since what I  
 have said is so thoroughly confirmed already ? And to be  
 sure our ancestors came into this country long before the  
 building of the temple ; for it was not till we had gotten  
 possession of the whole land by war, that we built our tem-  
 ple. And this is the point that I have clearly proved out  
 of our sacred writings in my Antiquities.

19. I will now relate what hath been written concerning  
 us in the Chaldean histories, which records have a great  
 agreement with our books in other things also. Berosus  
 shall be witness to what I say ; he was by birth a Chaldean  
 well known by the learned, on account of his publication  
 of the Chaldean books of astronomy and philosophy among  
 the Greeks. This Berosus, therefore, following the most  
 ancient records of that nation, gives us an history of the  
 deluge of waters that then happened, and of the destruction  
 of mankind thereby, and agrees with Moses's narration  
 thereof. He also gives us an account of that ark wherein  
 Noah, the origin of our race, was preserved, when it was  
 brought to the highest part of the Armenian mountains ;

after which he gives us a catalogue of the posterity of Noah, and adds the years of their chronology, and at length comes down to Nabolassar, who was king of Babylon, and of the Chaldeans. And when he was relating the acts of his king, he describes to us, "How he sent his son Nabuchodonosor against Egypt, and against our land, with a great army, upon his being informed that they had revolted from him; and how, by that means, he subdued them all, and set our temple that was at Jerusalem on fire; nay, and removed our people entirely out of their own country, and transferred them to Babylon; when it so happened, that our city was desolate during the interval of seventy years, until the days of Cyrus king of Persia." He then says, "that this Babylonian king conquered Egypt, and Syria, and Phenicia, and Arabia, and exceeded in his exploits, all that had reigned before him in Babylon and Chaldea." A little after which, Berosus subjoins what follows in his history of ancient times: I will set down Berosus's own accounts, which are these: "When Nabuchodonosor, father of Nabolassar, heard that the governor whom he had set over Egypt and over the parts of Celesyria and Phenicia had revolted from him, he was not able to bear it any longer, but committing certain parts of his army to his son Nabuchodonosor, who was then but young, he sent him against the rebel: Nabuchodonosor joined battle with him, and conquered him, and reduced the country under his dominion again. Now it so fell out, that his father Nabolassar fell into a distemper, at this time, and died in the city of Babylon, after he had reigned twenty-nine years. But, as he understood in a little time, that his father Nabuchodonosor was dead, he set the affairs of Egypt and the other countries in order, and committed the captives he had taken from the Jews, the Phenicians, and Syrians, and of the nations belonging to Egypt, to some of his friends, that they might conduct that part of the forces that had on heavy armour, with the rest of his baggage, to Babylonia; while he went in haste, having but a few with him, over the desert to Babylon; whither, when he was come, he found the public affairs had been managed by the Chaldeans, and that the principal persons among them had preserved the kingdom for him. Accordingly, he now entirely obtained all his father's dominions. He then came, and ordered the captives to be

“ placed as colonies in the most proper places of Babylonia :  
 “ but for himself, he adorned the temple of Belus, and the  
 “ other temples, after an elegant manner, out of the spoils  
 “ he had taken in this war. He also rebuilt the old city,  
 “ and added another to it on the outside, and so far restored  
 “ Babylon, that none who should besiege it afterwards  
 “ might have it in their power to divert the river, so as to  
 “ facilitate an entrance into it ; and this he did by building  
 “ three walls about the inner city, and three about the  
 “ outer. Some of these walls he built of burnt brick and  
 “ bitumen, and some of brick only. So when he had thus  
 “ fortified the city with walls, after an excellent manner,  
 “ and had adorned the gates magnificently, he added a  
 “ new palace to that which his father had dwelt in, and  
 “ this close by it also, and that more eminent in its height,  
 “ and in its great splendour ; it would perhaps require too  
 “ long a narration if any one were to describe it ; however,  
 “ as prodigious large, and as magnificent as it was, it was  
 “ finished in fifteen days. Now in this palace he erected  
 “ very high walks, supported by stone pillars, and by planting  
 “ what was called a *pensile paradise*, and replenishing it with  
 “ all sorts of trees, he rendered the prospect of an exact  
 “ resemblance of a mountainous country. This he did to  
 “ please his queen, because she had been brought up in  
 “ Media, and was fond of a mountainous situation.”\*

20. This is what Berosus relates concerning the foremen-  
 tioned king as he relates many other things about him also in  
 the third book of his Chaldean history ; wherein he com-  
 plains of the Grecian writers for supposing without any  
 foundation, that Babylon was built by Semiramis \* queen  
 of Assyria, and for her false pretence to those wonderful  
 edifices thereto relating, as if they were her own workman-  
 ship ; as indeed in these affairs the Chaldean history can-  
 not but be the most credible. Moreover, we meet with  
 a confirmation of what Berosus says, in the archives of the  
 Phenicians, concerning this king Nabuchodonosor, that he  
 conquered all Syria and Phenicia ; in which case Philo-  
 stratus agrees with the others, in that history which he compo-  
 sed, where he mentions the siege of Tyre ; as does Megas-

\* The great improvements that Nebuchadnezzar made in the buildings at  
 Babylon, do no way contradict those ancient and authentic testimonies  
 which ascribe its first building to Nimrod, and its first rebuilding to Semira-  
 mis, as Berosus seems here to suppose.

thenes also, in the fourth book of his indian history, wherein he pretends to prove, that the forementioned king of the Babylonians was superior to Hercules in strength, and the greatness of his exploits; for he says that he conquered a great part of Libya, and conquered Iberia also, Now, as to what I have said before about the temple at Jerusalem, that it was fought against by the Babylonians, and burnt by them, but was opened again when Cyrus had taken the kingdom of Asia, shall be now demonstrated from what Berossus adds farther upon that head; for thus he says, in his third book: "Nebuchodonosor, after he had begun to build the forementioned wall, fell sick, and departed this life, when he had reigned forty-three years; whereupon, his son Evilmeroduch obtained the kingdom. He governed public affairs after an illegal and impure manner, and had a plot laid against him by Neriglissoor, his sister's husband, and was slain by him when he had reigned but two years. After he was slain, Neriglissoor, the person who plotted against him, succeeded him in the kingdom, and reigned four years; his son Laborosoarchod obtained the kingdom, though he were but a child, and kept it nine months; but, by reason of the very ill temper and ill practices he exhibited to the world, a plot was laid against him also by his friends, and he was tormented to death. After his death, the conspirators got together, and, by common consent, put the crown on the head of Nabonnedus, a man of Babylon, and one who belonged to that insurrection. In his reign it was, that the walls of the city of Babylon were curiously built with burnt brick and bitumen; but, when he was come to the seventeenth year of his reign, Cyrus came out of Persia with a great army; and, having already conquered all the rest of Asia, he came hastily to Babylonia. When Nabonnedus perceived he was coming to attack him, he met him with his forces, and joining battle with him, was beaten, and fled away, with a few of his troops with him, and was shut up within the city Borsippus. Hereupon Cyrus took Babylon, and gave order that the outer walls of the city should be demolished, because the city had proved very troublesome to him, and cost him a great deal of pains to take it. He then marched away to Borsippus to besiege Nabonnedus; but, as Nabonnedus did not sustain the siege, but delivered himself into



"his hands, he was at first kindly used by Cyrus, who gave him Cormanian, as a place for him to inhabit in, but sent him out of Babylonia, Accordingly, Nabonnedus spent the rest of his time in that country, and there died."

21. These accounts agree with the true histories in our books, for in them it is written, that Nebuchadnezzar, in the eighteenth \* year of his reign, laid our temple desolate, and so it lay in that state of obscurity for fifty years: but that in the second year of the reign of Cyrus, its foundations were laid, and it was finished again in the second † year of Darius. I will now add the records of the Phenicians; for it will not be superfluous to give the reader demonstrations more than enow on this occasion. In them we have this enumeration of the times of their several kings: "Nabuchodonosor besieged Tyre for thirteen years, in the days of Ithobal, their king; after him reigned Baal ten years; after him were judges appointed, who judged the people. Ecnibalus, the son of Baslacus, two months: Chelbes, the son of Abdeus, ten months; Abbar, the high-priest, three months; Mitgonus and Gerastratus, the sons of Abdelemus, were judges six years; after whom Balatorus reigned one year; after his death, they sent and fetched Merbalus from Babylon, who reigned four years; after his death, they sent for his brother Hirom, who reigned twenty years. Under his reign Cyrus became king of Persia." So that the whole interval is fifty-four years besides three months; for on the seventh year of the reign of Nebuchadnezzar he began to besiege Tyre, and Cyrus the Persian took the kingdom on the fourteenth year of Hirom. So that the records of the Chaldeans and Tyrians agree with our writings about this temple; and the testimonies here produced are an indisputable and undeniable attestation to the antiquity of our nation. And I suppose that what I have

\* This number in Josephus, that Nebuchadnezzar destroyed the temple in the 18th year of his reign, is a mistake in the nicety of chronology; for it was in the 19th.

† The true number here for the year of Darius, on which the second temple was finished, whether the 2d with our present copies, or the 6th, with that of Syncellus, or the 10th, with that of Eusebius, is very uncertain; so we had best follow Josephus's own account elsewhere, *Antiq. B. xi. ch. iii. § 4. vol. ii.* which shews us that, according to his copy of the old Testament, after the 2d of Cyrus, that work was interrupted till the 2d of Darius, when in seven years it was finished, on the 9th of Darius.

already said may be sufficient to such as are not very contentious.

22. But now it is proper to satisfy the inquiry of those that disbelieve the records of barbarians, and think none but Greeks to be worthy of credit, and produce many of these very Greeks who were acquainted with our nation, and to set before them such as upon occasion have made mention of us in their own writings. Pythagoras, therefore, of Samos lived in very ancient times, and was esteemed a person superior to all philosophers in wisdom, and piety towards God. Now it is plain, that he did not only know our doctrines but was in very great measure a follower and admirer of them. There is not indeed extant \* any writing that is owned for his; but many there are who have written his history of whom Hermippus is the most celebrated, who was a person very inquisitive into all sort of history. Now this Hermippus, in his first book concerning Pythagoras, speaks thus; That "Pythagoras, upon the death of one of his associates, whose name was *Calliphon*, "a Crotoniate by birth, affirmed that this man's soul conversed with him both night and day, and enjoined him "not to pass over a place where an ass had fallen down; as "also not to drink such waters as caused thirst again, and "not to abstain from all sorts of reproaches." After which he adds thus, "This he did and said in imitation "of the doctrines of the Jews and Thracians, which he "transferred into his own philosophy." For it is very truly affirmed of this Pythagoras, that he took a great many of the laws of the Jews into his own philosophy. Nor was our nation unknown of old to several of the Grecian cities, and indeed was thought worthy of imitation by some of them. This is declared by Theophrastus, in his writings concerning laws; for he says, "That the laws of the "Tyrians forbid men to swear foreign oaths." Among which he enumerates some others, and particularly that called *Corban*, which oath can only be found among the Jews, and declares what a man may call *a thing devoted to God*. Nor indeed was Herodotus of Halicarnassus unacquainted with our nation, but mentions it after a way of

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\* This is a thing well known by the learned, that we are not secure that we have any genuine writings of Pythagoras; those Golden Verses which are his best remains, being generally supposed to have been written not by himself, but by some of his scholars only, in agreement with what Josephus here affirms of him.

his own, when he saith thus, in the second book concerning the Colchians. His words are these: "the only people who were circumcised, in their privy members originally were the Colchians, the Egyptians, and the Ethiopians; but the Phenicians, and those Syrians that are in Palestine, confess that they learned it from the Egyptians. And for those Syrians who live about the rivers Thermodon and Parthegius, and their neighbours the Marcrones, they say they have lately learned it from the Colchians; for these are the only people that are circumcised among mankind, and appear to have done the very same thing with the Egyptians. But as for the Egyptians and Ethiopians themselves, I am not able to say which of them received it from the other." This, therefore, is what Herodotus says, "That the Syrians that are in Palestine are circumcised." But there are no inhabitants of Palestine that are circumcised excepting the Jews; and therefore it must be his knowledge of them that enabled him to speak so much concerning them. Cherilus \* also, a still ancients writer, and a poet, makes mention of our nation, and informs us, that it came to the assistance of king Xerxes, in his expedition against Greece. For, in

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\* Whether these verses of Cherilus, the heathen poet, in the days of Xerxes, belong to the Solymi in Pisidia, that were near a small lake, or to the Jews that dwelt on the Solymean or Jerusalem mountains, near the great and broad lake Asphaltitis, that were a strange people, and spake the Phenician tongue, is not agreed on by the learned. It is yet certain that Josephus here, and Eusebius, *Praep. ix. 9. p. 412.* took them to be Jews; and I confess I cannot but incline very much to the same opinion. The other Solymi were not a strange people, but heathen idolaters, like the other parts of Xerxes's army; and that these spake the Phenician tongue is next to impossible, as the Jews certainly did; nor is there the least evidence for it elsewhere. Nor was the lake adjoining to the mountains of the Solymi at all large or broad in comparison of the Jewish lake Asphaltitis; nor indeed were these so considerable a people as the Jews, nor so likely to be desired by Xerxes for his army as the Jews, to whom he was always very favourable. As for the rest of Cherilus's description, *That their heads were sooty; that they had round rasures on their heads; that their heads and faces were like nasty horse heads which had been hardened in the smoke;* these awkward characters probably fitted the Solymi of Pisidia no better than they did the Jews in Judea. And indeed this reproachful language here given these people, is to me a strong indication that they were the poor despicable Jews, and not the Pisidian Solymi celebrated in Homer, whom Cherilus here describes; nor are we to expect that either Cherilus or Hecataeus, or any other Pagan writers, cited by Josephus and Eusebius, made no mistakes in the Jewish history. If, by comparing their testimonies with the more authentic records of that nation, we find them, for the main, to confirm the same, as we almost always do, we ought to be satisfied, and not expect that they ever had an exact knowledge of all the circumstances of the Jewish affairs, which indeed it was almost always impossible for them to have. See § 23.

his enumeration of all those nations, he last of all inserts ours among the rest, when he says :

“ At the last there passed over a people, wonderful to be beheld : for they spake the Phenician tongue with their mouths ; they dwelt in the Solymeian mountains near a broad lake : their heads were sooty ; they had round rasures on them ; their heads and faces were like nasty horse heads also that had been hardened in the smoke.”

I think, therefore, that it is evident to every body, that Cherilus means us, because the Solymeian mountains are in our county, wherein we inhabit, as is also the lake called *Asphaltitis*, for this is a broader and larger lake than any other that is in Syria : and thus does Cherilus make mention of us. But now, that not only the lowest sort of the Grecians, but those that are had in the greatest admiration for their philosophic improvements among them, did not only know the Jews but, when they lighted upon any of them, admired them also, it is easy for any one to know. For Clearchus, who was the scholar of Aristotle, and inferior to no one of the Peripatetics whomsoever, in his first book concerning sleep, says, “ That Aristotle his master related what follows of a Jew.” and sets down Aristotle’s own discourse with him. The account is this, as written down by him : “ Now, for a great part of what this Jew said, it would be too long to recite it ; but what includes in it both wonder and philosophy, it may not be amiss to discourse of. Now, that I may be plain with thee, Hyperochides, I shall herein seem to thee to relate wonders, and what will resemble dreams themselves. Hereupon, Hyperochides answered modestly, and said, for that very reason it is, that all of us are very desirous of hearing what thou art going to say. Then replied Aristotle, for this cause it will be the best way to imitate that rule of the rhetoricians, which requires us first to give an account of the man, and of what nation he was, that so we may not contradict our master’s directions. Then said Hyperochides, Go on, if it so pleases thee. This man then [answered Aristotle] was by birth a Jew, and came from Celesyria ; these Jews are derived from the Indian philosophers ; they are named by the Indians *Calami*, and by the Syrians *Judaci*, and took their names from the country they inhabit, which is called *Judea* ; but for the name of their city, it

"is a very awkward one, for they call it *Jerusalem*.  
 "Now this man, when he was hospitably treated by a great  
 "many, came down from the upper country to the places near  
 "to the sea, and became a Grecian, not only in his lan-  
 "guage, but in his soul also; insomuch that when we our-  
 "selves happened to be in Asia about the same places  
 "whither he came, he conversed with us, and with other  
 "philosophical persons, and made a trial of our skill in  
 "philosophy; and as he had lived with many learned  
 "men he communicated to us more information than he  
 "received from us." This is Aristotle's account of the  
 matter, as given us by Clearchus: which Aristotle dis-  
 coursed also particularly, of the great and wonderful for-  
 titude of this Jew in his diet, and continent way of living,  
 as those that please may learn more about him from Clearchus's book itself; for I avoid setting down any more than  
 is sufficient for my purpose. Now Clearchus said this by  
 way of digression, for his main design was of another nature.  
 But for Hecateus of Abdera, who was both a philosopher,  
 and one very skilful in an active life, he was contemporary  
 with king Alexander in his youth, and afterward was with  
 Ptolemy the son of Lagus; he did not write about the Jewish  
 affairs by the bye only, but composed an entire book con-  
 cerning the Jews themselves, out of which book I am wil-  
 ling to run over a few things of which I have been treating,  
 by way of epitome. And, in the first place, I will demon-  
 strate the time when this Hecateus lived; for he mentions  
 the fight that was between Ptolemy and Demetrius about  
 Gaza, which was fought on the eleventh year after the  
 death of Alexander, and on the hundred and seventeenth  
 Olympiad, as Castor, says in his history. For when he  
 had set down this Olympiad, he says farther, "That on  
 "this Olympiad Ptolemy, the son of Lagus, beat in battle  
 "Demetrius, the son of Antigonus, who was named *Polior-*  
 "*cetes*, at Gaza." Now it is agreed by all, that Alexan-  
 der died on the hundred and fourteenth Olympiad: it is  
 therefore evident, that our nation flourished in his time,  
 and in the time of Alexander. Again Hecateus says, to  
 the same purpose, as follows: "Ptolemy got possession of  
 "the places in Syria after that battle at Gaza; and many,  
 "when they heard of Ptolemy's moderation and humanity,  
 "went along with him to Egypt, and were willing to assist  
 "him in his affairs: one of which," Hecateus says, "was

“ Hezekiah, \* the high priest of the Jews ; a man of about  
 “ sixty-six years of age, and in great dignity among his  
 “ own people. He was a very sensible man, and could  
 “ speak very movingly, and was very skilful in the man-  
 “ agement of affairs, if any other man ever were so ; al-  
 “ though, as he says, all the priests of the Jews took tythes  
 “ of the products of the earth, and managed public affairs,  
 “ and were in number not above fifteen hundred at the most.”  
 Hecateus mentions this Hezekiah a second time, and says  
 That “ as he was possess of so great a dignity, and was  
 “ become familiar with us, so did he take certain of those  
 “ that were with him, and explained to them all the cir-  
 “ cumstances of their people ; for he had all their habita-  
 “ tions and polity down in writing.” Moreover, Hecateus  
 declares again, “ what regard we have for our laws, and  
 “ that we resolve to endure any thing rather than transgress  
 “ them, because we think it right for us to do so.” Where-  
 “ upon he adds, that “ although they are in bad reputation  
 “ among their neighbours, and among all those that come  
 “ to them, and have been often treated injuriously by the  
 “ kings and governors of Persia, yet can they not be per-  
 “ suaded from acting but what they think best ; but that  
 “ when they are stripped on this account, and have tor-  
 “ ments inflicted upon them, and they are brought to the  
 “ most terrible kinds of death, they meet them after an ex-  
 “ traordinary manner, beyond all other people, and will  
 “ not renounce the religion of their forefathers.” Hecateus  
 also produces demonstrations not a few of this their reso-  
 lute tenaciousness of their laws, when he speaks thus :  
 “ Alexander was once at Babylon, and had an intention to  
 “ rebuild the temple of Belus that was fallen to decay, and  
 “ in order thereto, he commanded all his soldiers in gener-  
 “ al to bring earth thither ; but the Jews, and they on-  
 “ ly, would not comply with that command ; nay, they un-  
 “ derwent stripes and great losses of what they had on this  
 “ account, till the king forgave them, and permitted them  
 “ to live in quiet.” He adds farther, That “ when the Ma-  
 “ cedonians came to them into that country, and demolish-  
 “ ed the [old] temples and the altars, they assisted them in

\* This Hezekiah, who is here called an high-priest is not named in Josephus's catalogue ; the real high priest at that time being rather Onias, as Archbishop Usher supposes. However, Josephus often uses the word high-priests in the plural number, as living many at the same time. See the note on Antiq. B. xx. ch. viii. § 8. vol. iv.

"demolishing them all,\* but (for not assisting them in rebuilding them) they either underwent losses, or sometimes obtained forgiveness." He adds farther, That "these men deserve to be admired on that account." He also speaks of the mighty populousness of our nation, and says, That "the Persians formerly carried away many ten thousands of our people to Babylon; as also that not a few ten thousands were removed, after Alexander's death, into Egypt, and Phenicia, by reason of the sedition that was arisen in Syria." The same person takes notice in his history how large the country is in which we inhabit, as well as of its excellent character, and says, That "the land in which the Jews inhabit contains three millions of arourae,† and is generally of a most excellent and most fruitful soil; nor is Judea of lesser dimensions." The same man describes our city Jerusalem also itself, as of a most excellent structure, and very large, and inhabited from the most ancient times. He also discourses of the multitude of men in it, and of the construction of our temple after the following manner: "There are many strong places and villages," says he, "in the country of Judea, but one strong city there is, about fifty furlongs in circumference \* which is inhabited by an hundred and twenty thousand men, or thereabout; \* they call it *Jerusalem*."

\* So I read the text with Havercamp, though the place be difficult.

† This number of arourae or Egyptian acres, 3,000,000, each arourae containing a square of one hundred Egyptian cubits (being about three quarters of an English acre, and just twice the area of the court of the Jewish tabernacle), as contained in the country of Judea, will be about one third of the entire number of arourae in the whole land of Judea, supposing it 160 measured miles long, and 70 such miles broad: which estimation for the fruitful parts of it, as perhaps here in Hecateus, is not therefore very wide from the truth. The 50 furlongs in compass for the city Jerusalem, presently, are not very wide from the truth also, as Josephus himself describes it. Of the war, B. v. ch. iv. § 3. vol. vi. makes its wall 33 furlongs besides the suburbs and gardens; nay, he says, B. v. ch. xii. § 2. that Titus's wall about it at some small distance, after the gardens and suburbs were destroyed, was not less than 39 furlongs. Nor, perhaps, were its constant inhabitants in the days of Hecateus, many more than these 120,000, because room was always to be left for vastly greater numbers which came up at the three great festivals; to say nothing of the probable increase in their number between the days of Hecateus and Josephus, which was at least 300 years. But see a more authentic account of some of these measures in my description of the Jewish temples. However, we are not to expect that such heathens as Cherilus or Hecateus, or the rest that are cited by Josephus and Eusebius could avoid making many mistakes in the Jewish history, while yet they strongly confirm the same history in the general, and are most valuable attestations to those more authentic accounts we have in the Scriptures and Josephus concerning them.

“ There is about the middle of the city a wall of stone, whose length is five hundred feet, and breadth an hundred cubits, with double cloisters; wherein there is a square altar, not made of hewn stone, but composed of white stones gathered together, having each side twenty cubits long, and its altitude ten cubits. Hard by it is an edifice, wherein there is an altar and a candlestick both of gold and in weight two talents: upon these there is a light that is never extinguished either by night or by day. There is no image nor any thing, nor any donations therein; nothing at all is there planted, neither grove, nor any thing of that sort. The priests abide therein both nights and days, performing certain purifications, and drinking not the least drop of wine while they are in the temple.” Moreover, he attests, that we Jews went as auxiliaries along with king Alexander, and after him with his successors. I will add farther what he says he learned, when he was himself with the same army, concerning the actions of a man that was a Jew. His words are these: “ As I was myself going to the Red Sea, there followed us a man whose name was *Mosollam*: he was one of the Jewish horsemen who conducted us: he was a person of great courage, of a strong body, and by all allowed to be the most skilful archer that was either among the Greeks or Barbarians. Now, this man, as people were in great numbers passing along the road, and a certain augur was observing an augury by a bird and requiring them all to stand still, inquired what they staid for? Hereupon the augur shewed him the bird from whence he took his augury, and told him, that if the bird staid where he was, they ought all to stand still, but that if he got up, and flew onward they must go forward; but that if he flew backward, they must retire again. *Mosollam* made no reply, but drew his bow, and shot at the bird and hit him, and killed him; and as the augur and some others were very angry, and wished imprecations upon him, he answered them thus: Why are you so mad, as to take this most unhappy bird into your hands? for, how can this bird give us any true information concerning our march, who could not foresee how to save himself? for, had he been able to foreknow what was future, he would not have come to this place, but would have been afraid lest *Mosollam* the Jew should shoot at him and



"kill him." But of Hecateus's testimonies we have said enough ; for as to such as desire to know more of them, they may easily obtain them from his book itself. However, I shall not think it too much for me to name Agatharchides, as having made mention of us Jews, though in way of derision at our simplicity, as he supposes it to be, for when he was discoursing of the affairs of Stratonice, "how she came out of Macedonia into Syria, and left her husband Demetrius, while yet Seleucus would not marry her as she expected, but during the time of his raising an army at Babylon, stirred up a sedition about Antioch ; and how, after that, the king came back, and upon his taking of Antioch, she fled to Seleucia, and had it in her power to sail away immediately, yet did she comply with a dream which forbade her so to do, and so was caught, and put to death." When Agatharchides had premised this story, and had jested upon Stratonice for her superstition, he gives a like example of what was reported concerning us, and writes thus : "There are a people called *Jews*, and dwell in a city the strongest of all other cities, which the inhabitants call *Jerusalem*, and are accustomed to rest on every seventh day ;\* on which times they make no use of their arms, nor meddle with husbandry, nor take care of any affairs of life, but spread out their hands in their holy places, and pray till the evening. Now, it came to pass, that when Ptolemy, the son of Lagus, came into this city with his army, that these men, in observing this mad custom of theirs, instead of guarding their city suffered their country to submit itself to a bitter lord ; and their law † was openly proved to have commanded a foolish practice. This accident taught all other men but the Jews to disregard such dreams as these were, and not to follow the like idle suggestions delivered as a law, when, in such uncertainty of human reasonings they are at a loss what they should do." Now this our procedure seems a ridiculous thing to Agatharchides, but will appear to such as consider it without prejudice a great thing, and what deserved a great many encomiums ; I mean, when certain men constantly prefer the observation of

\* A glorious testimony this of the observation of the sabbath by the Jews. See Antiq. B. xvi. ch. ii. § 4. and ch. vi. § 2. vol. v. the Life, § 54. vol. iv. and War, B. iv. ch. ix. § 12. vol v.

† Not their law, but the superstitious interpretation of their leaders, which neither the Maccabees nor our blessed Saviour did ever approve of.

their laws, and their religion towards God, before the preservation of themselves and their country.

23. Now, that some writers have omitted to mention our nation, not because they knew nothing of us, but because they envied us, or for some other unjustifiable reasons, I think I can demonstrate by particular instances: for Hieronymus, who wrote the history of [Alexander's] successors, lived at the same time with Hecateus, and was a friend of king Antigonus and president of Syria. Now it is plain that Hecateus wrote an entire book concerning us, while Hieronymus never mentions us in his history, although he was bred up very near to the places where we live. Thus different from one another are the inclinations of men; while the one thought we deserved to be carefully remembered, as some ill-disposed passion blinded the other's mind so entirely, that he could not discern the truth. And now certainly the foregoing records of the Egyptians, and Chaldeans, and Phenicians, together with so many of the Greek writers will be sufficient for the demonstration of our antiquity. Moreover, besides those forementioned, Theophilus, and Theodotus. and Muaseas, and Aristophanes, and Hermogenes, Euhemerus also, and Conon, and Zopyrion, and perhaps many others, (for I have not lighted up all the Greek books,) have made distinct mention of us. It is true, many of the men before mentioned have made great mistakes about the true accounts of our nation in the earliest times, because they had not perused our sacred books; yet have they all of them afforded their testimony to our antiquity, concerning which I am now treating. However, Demetrius Phalereus and the elder Philo, with Eupolemus, have not greatly missed the truth about our affairs; whose lesser mistakes ought therefore to be forgiven them; for it was not in their power to understand our writings with the utmost accuracy.

24. One particular there is still remaining behind of what I at first proposed to speak to, and that is to demonstrate, that those calumnies and reproaches, which some have thrown upon our nation, are lies, and to make use of those writers' own testimonies against themselves; and that in general, this self-contradiction hath happened to many other authors, by reason of their ill-will to some people, I conclude, is not unknown to such as have read histories with sufficient care; for some of them have endeavoured

to disgrace the nobility of certain nations, and of some of the most glorious cities, and have cast reproaches upon certain forms of government. Thus hath Theopompus abused the city of Athens. Polycrates that of Lacedemon, as hath he that wrote the Tripoliticus, (for he is not Theopompus as is supposed by some) done by the city of Thebes. Timeus also hath greatly abused the foregoing people and others also: and this ill treatment they use chiefly when they have a contest with men of the greatest reputation: some out of envy and malice, and others, as supposing that, by this foolish talking of theirs they may be thought worthy of being remembered themselves: and indeed they do by no means fail of their hopes, with regard to the foolish part of mankind, but men of sober judgment still condemn them of great malignity.

25. Now, the Egyptians were the first that cast reproaches upon us; in order to please which nation, some others undertook to pervert the truth, while they would neither own that our forefathers came into Egypt from another country as the fact was, nor give a true account of our departure thence. And indeed the Egyptians took many occasions to hate us and envy us; in the first place, because our ancestors \* had had the dominion over their country, and when they were delivered from them, and gone to their own country again, they lived there in prosperity. In the next place, the difference of our religion from theirs hath occasioned great enmity between us, while our way of divine worship did as much exceed that which their laws appointed, as does the nature of God exceed that of brute beasts; for, so far they all agree through the whole country, to esteem such animals as gods, although they differ one from another in the peculiar worship they severally pay to them. And certainly men they are entirely of vain and foolish minds, who have thus accustomed themselves from the beginning to have such bad notions concerning their gods, and could not think of imitating that decent form of divine worship which we made use of; though when they saw our institutions approved of by many others, they could not but envy us on that account; for some of them have proceeded to that degree of folly and meanness in their conduct, as not to scruple to contradict

\* The Phenician shepherds, whom Josephus mistook for the Israelites. See the note on p 18.

their own ancient records ; nay, to contradict themselves also in their writings, and yet were so blinded by their passions as not to discern it.

26. And, now I will turn my discourse to one of their principal writers, who I have a little before made use of as a witness to our antiquity ; I mean Manetho.\* He promised to interpret the Egyptian history out of their sacred writings, and premised this ; That “ our people had come into “ Egypt, many ten thousands in number, and subdued its “ inhabitants ;” and when he had farther confessed, That “ we went out of that country afterward, and settled in “ that country which is now called *Judea*, and there built “ Jerusalem and its temple.” Now, thus far he followed his ancient records ; but after this he permits himself, in order to appear to have written what rumours and reports passed abroad about the Jews, and introduces incredible narrations, as if he would have the Egyptian multitude, that had the leprosy and other distempers, to have been mixed with us, as he says they were ; and that they were condemned to fly out of Egypt together ; for he mentions Amenophis, a fictitious king’s name, though on that account he durst not set down the number of years of his reign, which yet he had accurately done as to the other kings he mentions : he then ascribes certain fabulous stories to this king, as having in a manner forgotten how he had already related that the departure of the shepherds for Jerusalem had been five hundred and eighteen years before ; for Tethmosis was king when they went away. Now, from his days the reigns of the intermediate kings, according to Manetho, amounted to three hundred ninety-three years, as he says himself, till the two brothers Sethos and Hermeus ; the one of which, Sethos, was called by that other name of *Egyptus*, and the other, Hermeus, by that of *Danaus*. He also says, that Sethos cast the other out

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\* In reading this, and the remaining sections of this book, and some parts of the next, one may easily perceive, that our usually cool and candid author Josephus was too highly offended with the impudent calumnies of Manetho, and the other bitter enemies of the Jews, with whom he had now to deal, and was thereby betrayed into a greater heat and passion than ordinary, and that by consequence he does not here reason with his usual fairness and impartiality ; he seems to depart sometimes from the brevity and sincerity of a faithful historian, which is his grand character, and indulges the prolixity and colours of a pleader and a disputant :—accordingly, I confess I always read these sections with less pleasure than I do the rest of his writings, though I fully believe the reproaches cast on the Jews, which he here endeavours to confute and expose, were wholly groundless and unreasonable.

of Egypt, and reigned fifty-nine years, as did his eldest son Rhampses reign after him sixty-six years. When Manetho therefore had acknowledged, that our forefathers were gone out of Egypt so many years ago, he introduces his fictitious king Amenophis, and says thus : " This king was desirous " to become a spectator of the gods, as had Orus, one of " his predecessors in that kingdom, desired the same before " him ; he also communicated that his desire to his namesake Amenophis, who was the son of Papis, and one that " seemed to partake of a divine nature, both as to wisdom " and the knowledge of futurities." Manetho adds, " how " this namesake of his told him, that he might see the gods " if he would clear the whole country of the lepers and of " the other impure people ; that the king was pleased with " this injunction, and got together all that had any defect " in their bodies out of Egypt, and that their number was " eighty thousand ; whom he sent to those quarries which " are on the east side of the Nile, that they might work in " them, and might be separated from the rest of the Egyptians." He says farther, That " there were some of the " learned priests that were polluted with the leprosy ; but " that still this Amenophis, the wise man and the prophet, " was afraid that the gods would be angry at him and at " the king, if there should appear to have been violence " offered them ; who also added this farther, [out of his " sagacity about futurities,] that certain people would come " to the assistance of these polluted wretches, and would " conquer Egypt, and keep it in their possession thirteen " years ; that, however, he durst not tell the king of these " things, but that he left a writing behind him about all " those matters, and then slew himself, which made the " king disconsolate." After which he writes thus *verbatim* : " — After those that were sent to work in the quarries had " continued in that miserable state for a long while, the " king was desired that he would set apart the city Avaris, " which was then left desolate of the shepherds, for their " habitation and protection : which desire he granted them. " Now this city, according to the ancient theology, was " Typho's city. But when these men were gotten into it, " and found the place fit for a revolt, they appointed themselves a ruler out of the priests of Heliopolis, whose name " was *Osarsiph*, and they took their oaths that they would " be obedient to him in all things. He then, in the first

“ place, made this law for them, that they should neither  
 “ worship the Egyptian gods, nor should abstain from any  
 “ one of those sacred animals which they have in the high-  
 “ est esteem, but kill and destroy them all; that they should  
 “ join themselves to nobody but to those that were of this  
 “ confederacy. When he had made such laws as these,  
 “ and many more such as were mainly opposite to the cus-  
 “ toms of the Egyptians,\* he gave order, that they should  
 “ use the multitude of the hands they had in building walls  
 “ about their city, and make themselves ready for a war  
 “ with king Amenophis, while he did himself take into his  
 “ friendship the other priests and those that were polluted  
 “ with them, and send ambassadors to those shepherds who  
 “ had been driven out of the land by Tethmosis to the city  
 “ called *Jerusalem*; whereby he informed them of his own  
 “ affairs, and of the state of those others that had been trea-  
 “ ted after such an ignominious manner, and desired that  
 “ they would come with one consent to his assistance in this  
 “ war against Egypt. He also promised that he would,  
 “ in the first place, bring them back to their ancient city  
 “ and country Avaris, and provide a plentiful maintenance  
 “ for their multitude: that he would protect them and fight  
 “ for them as occasion should require, and would easily  
 “ reduce the country under their dominion. These shep-  
 “ herds were all very glad of this message, and came away  
 “ with alacrity altogether, being in number two hundred  
 “ thousand men; and in a little time they came to Avaris.  
 “ And now Amenophis, the king of Egypt, upon his be-  
 “ ing informed of their invasion, was in great confusion,  
 “ as calling to mind what Amenophis, the son of Papis, had  
 “ foretold him; and, in the first place, he assembled the  
 “ multitude of the Egyptians, and took counsel with their  
 “ leaders, and sent for their sacred animals to him, espe-  
 “ cially for those that were principally worshipped in their  
 “ temples and gave a particular charge to the priests dis-  
 “ tinctly, that they should hide the images of their gods  
 “ with the utmost care. He also sent his son Sethos, who  
 “ was also named *Ramesses*, from his father Rhampses, be-  
 “ ing but five years old to a friend of his. He then pas-  
 “ sed on with the rest of the Egyptians, being three hun-

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\* This is a very valuable testimony of Manetho, that the laws of Osarsiph or Moses were not made in compliance with, but in opposition to the customs of the Egyptians. See the note on Antiq. B. ii. ch. viii. § 9. vol. i-

"dred thousand of the most warlike of them, against the  
 "enemy, who met them. Yet did he not join battle with  
 "them: but thinking that would be to fight against the  
 "gods, he returned back, and came to Memphis where he  
 "took Apis and the other sacred animals which he had sent  
 "for to him, and presently marched into Ethiopia, togeth-  
 "er with his whole army and multitude of Egyptians; for  
 "the king of Ethiopia was under an obligation to him, on  
 "which account he received him, and took care of all the  
 "multitude that was with him, while the country supplied  
 "all that was necessary for the food of the men. He also  
 "allotted cities and villages for this exile, that was to be  
 "from its beginning during those fatally determined thir-  
 "teen years. Moreover, he pitched a camp for his Ethio-  
 "pian army, as a guard to king Amenophis, upon the  
 "borders of Egypt. And this was the state of things in  
 "Ethiopia. But, for the people of Jerusalem, when they  
 "came down together with the polluted Egyptians, they  
 "treated the men in such a barbarous manner, that those  
 "who saw how they subdued the forementioned country,  
 "and the horrid wickedness they were guilty of, thought  
 "it the most dreadful thing; for they did not only set the  
 "cities and villages on fire, but were not satisfied till they  
 "had been guilty of sacrilege, and destroyed the images of  
 "the gods, and used them in roasting of those sacred ani-  
 "mals that used to be worshipped, and forced the priests  
 "and prophets to be the executioners and murderers of  
 "those animals, and then ejected them naked out of the  
 "country. It was also reported, that the priest, who or-  
 "dained their polity and their laws, was by birth of Heli-  
 "opolis, and his name *Osarsiph* from Osyris, who was the  
 "god of Heliopolis; but that, when he was gone over to  
 "these people, his name was changed, and he was called  
 "*Moses*."

27. This is what the Egyptians relate about the Jews,  
 with much more, which I omit for the sake of brevity.—  
 But still Manetho goes on, That, "after this Amenophis  
 "returned back from Ethiopia with a great army, as did  
 "his son Rhampses with another army also and that both  
 "of them joined battle with the shepherds and the polluted  
 "people, and beat them, and slew a great many of them, and  
 "pursued them to the bounds of Syria." These and the  
 like accounts are written by Manetho,—But I will demon-

strate that he trifles, and tells arrant lies, after I have made a distinction which will relate to what I am going to say about him: for this Manetho had granted and confessed that this nation was not originally Egyptian, but that they had come from another country, and subdued Egypt and then went away again out of it. But that those Egyptians who were thus diseased in their bodies were not mingled with us afterward, and that Moses, who brought the people out was not one of that company, but lived many generations earlier, I shall endeavour to demonstrate from Manetho's own accounts themselves.

28. Now, for the first occasion of this fiction, Manetho supposes what is no better than a ridiculous thing; for he says, That "king Amenophis desired to see the gods." What gods I pray did he desire to see? If he meant the gods whom their laws ordained to be worshipped, the ox, the goat, the crocodile, and the baboon, he saw them already; but for the heavenly gods, how could he see them, and what should occasion this his desire? To be sure,\* it was because another king before him had already seen them. He had then been informed what sort of gods they were, and after what manner they had been seen, insomuch that he did not stand in need of any new artifice for obtaining this sight. However, this prophet by whose means the king thought to compass his design was a wise man. If so, how came he not to know that such his desire was impossible to be accomplished? for the event did not succeed. And what pretence could there be to suppose, that the gods could not be seen by reason of the people's maims in their bodies, or leprosy? for the gods are not angry at the imperfection of bodies, but at wicked practices: and as to eighty thousand lepers, and those in an ill state also, how is it possible to have them gathered together in one day? nay, how came the king not to comply with the prophet? for his injunction was, that those that were maimed should be expelled out of Egypt, while the king only sent them to work in the quarries, as if he were rather in want of labourers, than intended to purge his country. He says farther, that "this prophet slew himself, as foreseeing the anger of the gods, and those events which were to come upon Egypt afterward; and that he left this prediction for

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\* Gr. By Jupiter.



“the king in writing.” Besides, how came it to pass, that this prophet did not foreknow his own death at the first? nay, how came he not to contradict the king in his desire to see the gods immediately? how came that unreasonable dread upon him of judgments that were not to happen in his life-time? or what worse thing could he suffer, out of the fear of which he made haste to kill himself? But now let us see the silliest thing of all: The king, although he had been informed of these things, and terrified with the fear of what was to come, yet did not he even then eject these maimed people out of his country; when it had been foretold him that he was to clear Egypt of them: but as Manetho says, “He then, upon their request, gave them that city to inhabit, which had formerly belonged to the shepherds, and was called *Avaris*; whither, when they were gone in crowds,” he says, “they chose one that had formerly been priest of Heliopolis, and that this priest first ordained, that they should neither worship the gods, nor abstain from those animals that were worshipped by the Egyptians, but should kill and eat them all, and should associate with nobody but those that had conspired with them; and that he bound the multitude by oaths to be sure to continue in those laws; and that when he had built a wall about *Avaris*, he made war against the king.” Manetho adds also, That “this priest sent to Jerusalem to invite that people to come to his assistance, and promised to give them *Avaris*; for that it had belonged to the forefathers of those that were coming from Jerusalem, and that when they were come, they made a war immediately against the king, and got possession of all Egypt.” He says also, That “the Egyptians came with an army of two hundred thousand men and that Amenophis the king of Egypt, not thinking that he ought to fight against the gods ran away presently into Ethiopia, and committed Apis and certain other of their sacred animals to the priests, and commanded them to take care of preserving them.” He says farther, That “the people of Jerusalem came accordingly upon the Egyptians, and overthrew their cities, and burnt their temples, and slew their horsemen, and in short abstained from no sort of wickedness nor barbarity; and for that priest who settled their polity and their laws.” he says, “he was by birth of Heliopolis, and his name was

"*Osarsiph* from *Osyris* the god of *Heliopolis*, but that he "changed his name, and called himself *Moses*." He then says, That, "on the thirteenth year afterward, *Amenophis*, according to the fatal time of the duration of his "misfortunes, came upon them out of *Ethiopia* with a great "army, and joining battle with the shepherds and with "the polluted people, overcame them in battle, and slew a "great many of them, and pursued them as far as the "bounds of *Syria*."

29. Now *Manetho* does not reflect upon the improbability of his lie : for the leprous people, and the multitude that was with them, although they might formerly have been angry at the king, and at those that had treated them so coarsely, and this according to the prediction of the prophet, yet certainly, when they were come out of the mines, and had received of the king a city, and a country, they would have grown milder towards him. However, had they ever so much hated him in particular, they might have laid a private plot against himself, but would hardly have made war against all the Egyptians ; I mean this on the account of the great kindred they, who were so numerous, must have had among them. Nay, still, if they had resolved to fight with the men, they would not have had impudence enough to fight with their gods ; nor would they have ordained laws quite contrary to those of their own country, and to those in which they had been bred up themselves. Yet are we beholden to *Manetho*, that he does not lay the principal charge of this horrid transgression upon those that came from *Jerusalem*, but says that the Egyptians themselves were the most guilty, and that they were their priests that contrived these things, and made the multitude take their oaths for doing so. But still, how absurd is it to suppose, that none of these people's own relations or friends should be prevailed with to revolt, not to undergo the hazards of war with them ? while these polluted people were forced to send to *Jerusalem*, and bring their auxiliaries from thence. What friendship, I pray, or what relation was there formerly between them, that required this assistance ? On the contrary, these people were enemies, and greatly differed from them in their customs. He says indeed, that they complied immediately, upon their promising them that they should conquer Egypt ; as if they did not themselves very well know the country out of which they

had been driven by force. Now, had these men been in want, or lived miserably, perhaps they might have undertaken so hazardous an enterprise, but, as they dwelt in an happy city, and had a large country, and one better than Egypt itself, how came it about, that for the sake of those that had of old been their enemies, of those that were maimed in their bodies, and of those whom none of their own relations would endure, they should run such hazards in assisting them? For they could not foresee that the king would runaway from them; on the contrary he saith himself, That "Amenophis's son had three hundred thousand men with him, and met them at Pelusium." Now, to be sure, those that came could not be ignorant of this; but for the king's repentance and flight, how could they possibly guess at it? He then says, That "those who came from Jerusalem, and made this invasion, got the granaries of Egypt into their possession, and perpetrated many of the most horrid actions there." And thence he reproaches them, as though he had not himself introduced them as enemies, or as though he might accuse such as were invited from another place for so doing, when the natural Egyptians themselves had done the same things before their coming, and had taken oaths so to do. However, "Amenophis, some time afterward, came upon them, and conquered them in battle, and slew his enemies, and drove them before him as far as Syria." As if Egypt were so easily taken by people that came from any place whatsoever, and as if those that had conquered it by war, when they were informed that Amenophis was alive, did neither fortify the avenues out of Ethiopia into it, although they had great advantages for doing it, nor did get their other forces ready for their defence; but that "he followed them over the sandy desert, and slew them as far as Syria;" while yet it is not an easy thing for an army to pass over that country, even without fighting.

30. Our nation, therefore according to Manetho, was not derived from Egypt, nor were any of the Egyptians mingled with us. For it is to be supposed, that many of the leprous and distempered people were dead in the mines, since they had been there a long time, and in so ill a condition; many others must be dead in the battles that happened afterwards, and more still in the last battle and flight after it.

31. It now remains that I debate with Manetho about Moses. Now the Egyptians acknowledge him to have been a wonderful, and a divine person; nay, they would willingly lay claim to him themselves, though after a most abusive and incredible manner, and pretend that he was of Heliopolis, and one of the priests of that place, and was ejected out of it among the rest, on account of his leprosy; although it had been demonstrated out of their records that he lived five hundred and eighteen years earlier, and then brought our forefathers out of Egypt into the country that is now inhabited by us. But now that he was not subject in his body to any such calamity, is evident from what he himself tells us: for he forbade those that had the leprosy either to continue in a city, or to inhabit in a village, but commanded that they should go about by themselves with their clothes rent; and declares that such as either touch them, or live under the same roof with them should be esteemed unclean; nay more, if any one of their disease be healed, and he recover his natural constitution again, he appointed them certain purifications, and washings with spring water, and the shaving of all their hair, and enjoins that they shall offer many sacrifices, and those of several kinds, and then at length, to be admitted into the holy city: although it were to be expected that, on the contrary, if he had been under the same calamity, he should have taken care of such persons beforehand, and have had them treated after a kinder manner, as affected with a concern for those that were to be under the like misfortunes with himself. Nor was it only those leprous people for whose sake he made these laws, but also for such as should be maimed in the smallest part of their body, who yet are not permitted by him to officiate as priests: nay, although any priest, already initiated, should have such a calamity fall upon him afterward, he ordered him to be deprived of his honour of officiating. How can it then be supposed that Moses should ordain such laws against himself, or to his own reproach and damage who so ordained them? Nor indeed is that other notion of Manetho's at all probable, wherein he relates the change of his name, and says, That "he was formerly called *Osarsiph*;" and this a name no way agreeable to the other, while his true name was *Möises*, and signifies a person who is preserved out of the water, for the Egyptians call water *Möo*. I think, therefore,

I have made it sufficiently evident that Manetho, while he followed his ancient records, did not much mistake the truth of the history; but that when he had recourse to fabulous stories, without any certain author, he either forged them himself, without any probability, or else gave credit to some men who spake so out of their ill-will to us.

32. And now I have done with Manetho, I will inquire into what Cheremon says. For he also, when he pretended to write the Egyptian history, sets down the same name for this king that Manetho did, Amenophis, as also of his son Ramesses, and then goes on thus: "The goddess Isis appeared to Amenophis in his sleep, and blamed him that her temple had been demolished in the war. But that Phritiphantes, the sacred scribe, said to him, that in case he would purge Egypt of the men that had pollutions upon them, he should be no longer troubled with such frightful apparitions. That Amenophis accordingly chose out two hundred and fifty thousand of those that were thus diseased, and cast them out of the country: that Moses and Joseph were scribes, and Joseph was a sacred scribe: that their names were Egyptian originally, that of Moses had been *Tisithen*, and that of Joseph *Petseph*: that these two came to Pelusium, and lighted upon three hundred and eighty thousand that had been left there by Amenophis, he not being willing to carry them into Egypt; that these scribes made a league of friendship with them, and made with them an expedition against Egypt; that Amenophis could not sustain their attacks, but fled into Ethiopia, and left his wife with child behind him, who lay concealed in certain caverns, and there brought forth a son, whose name was *Messene*, and who, when he was grown up to man's estate, pursued the Jews into Syria being about two hundred thousand, and then received his father Amenophis out of Ethiopia."

33. This is the account Cheremon gives us. Now I take it for granted, that what I have said already hath plainly proved the falsity of both these narrations; for had there been any real truth at the bottom, it was impossible that they should so greatly disagree about the particulars. But for those that invent lies, what they write easily give us very different accounts, while they forge what they please out of their own heads. Now Manetho says, that the king's desire of seeing the gods was the origin of the

ejection of the polluted people ; but Cheremon feigns that it was a dream of his own sent upon him by Isis, that was the occasion of it. Manetho says, that the person who foreshewed this purgation of Egypt to the king was Amenophis ; but this, man says it was Phritiphantes. As to the numbers of the multitude that were expelled, they agree exceedingly well,\* the former reckoning them eighty thousand, and the latter about two hundred and fifty thousand. Now for Manetho, he describes those polluted persons as sent first to work in the quarries, and says, that after that the city Avaris was given them for their habitation. As also he relates, that it was not till after they had made war with the rest of the Egyptians, that they invited the people of Jerusalem to come to their assistance ; while Cheremon says only, that they were gone out of Egypt and lighted upon three hundred and eighty thousand men about Pelusium, who had been left there by Amenophis, and so they invaded Egypt with them again ; that thereupon Amenophis fled into Ethiopia. But then this Cheremon commits a most ridiculous blunder in not informing us who this army of so many ten thousands were, or whence they came ; whether they were native Egyptians, or whether they came from a foreign county. Nor indeed has this man, who forged a dream from Isis, about the leprous people, assigned the reason why the king would not bring them into Egypt. Moreover, Cheremon sets down Joseph as driven away at the same time with Moses, who yet died four † generations before Moses, which four generations make almost one hundred and seventy years. Besides all this, Ramesses, the son of Amenophis, by Manetho's account, was a young man, and assisted his farther in his war, and left the country at the same time with him, and fled into Ethiopia. But Cheremon makes him, to have been born in a certain cave, after his father was dead, and that he then overcame the Jews in battle, and drove them into Syria, being in number about two hundred thousand. O the levity of the man ! For he had neither told us who these three hundred and eighty thousand were, nor how the four

\* By way of irony, I suppose.

† Here we see that Josephus esteemed a generation between Joseph and Moses to be about 42 or 43 years, which, if taken between the earlier children, well agrees with the duration of human life in those ages. See, Authent. Rec. Part II. p. 966, 1019, 1020.

hundred and thirty thousand perished ; whether they fell in war, or went over to Ramesses. And, what is the strangest of all, it is not possible to learn out of him, who they were whom he calls Jews or to which of these two parties he applies that denomination, whether to the hundred and fifty thousand leprous people, or to the three hundred and eighty thousand that were about Pelusium. But perhaps it will be looked upon as a silly thing in me to make any larger confutation of such writers as sufficiently confute themselves ; for had they been only confuted by other men, it had been more tolerable.

34. I shall now add to these accounts about Manetho and Cheremon somewhat about Lysimachus, who hath taken the same topic of falsehood, with those forementioned, but hath gone far beyond them in the incredible nature of his forgeries : which plainly demonstrates that he contrived them out of his virulent hatred of our nation. His words are these : “ The people of the Jews being leprous, and  
 “ scabby, and subject to certain other kinds of distempers,  
 “ in the days of Bocchoris king of Egypt, they fled to the  
 “ temples, and got their food there by begging ; and as the  
 “ numbers were very great that were fallen under these dis-  
 “ eases, there arose a scarcity in Egypt. Hereupon Boc-  
 “ choris, the king of Egypt, sent some to consult the ora-  
 “ cle of [Jupiter] Hammon about this scarcity. The god’s  
 “ answer was this, That he must purge his temples of im-  
 “ pure and impious men, by expelling them out of those  
 “ temples into desert places ; but as to the scabby and lep-  
 “ rous people, he must drown them, and purge his temples,  
 “ the sun having an indignation at these men’s being suffer-  
 “ ed to live : and by this means the land will bring forth  
 “ its fruits. Upon Bocchoris’s having received these ora-  
 “ cles he called for their priests, and the attendants upon  
 “ their altars, and ordered them to make a collection of the  
 “ impure people, and to deliver them to the soldiers, to  
 “ carry them away into the desert, but to take the leprous  
 “ people, and wrap them in sheets of lead, and let them  
 “ down into the sea. Hereupon the scabby and leprous  
 “ people were drowned, and the rest were gotten together,  
 “ and sent into desert places, in order to be exposed to de-  
 “ struction. In this case they assembled themselves to-  
 “ gether, and took counsel what they should do, and de-  
 “ termined, that, as the night was coming on, they should

“ kindle fires and lamps, and keep watch ; that they also  
 “ should fast the next night and propitiate the gods, in or-  
 “ der to obtain deliverance from them : that on the next  
 “ day, there was one Moses, who advised them, that they  
 “ should venture upon a journey, and go along one road,  
 “ till they should come to a place fit for habitation ; that  
 “ he charged them to have no kind regards for any man,  
 “ nor give good counsel to any, but always to advise them  
 “ for the worst, and to overturn all those temples and altars  
 “ of the gods they should meet with : that the rest com-  
 “ mended what he had said with one consent, and did what  
 “ they had resolved on, and so travelled over the desert.  
 “ But that the difficulties of the journey being over, they  
 “ came to a country inhabited, and that there they abused  
 “ the men, and plundered and burnt their temples, and  
 “ then came into that land which is called *Judea*, and there  
 “ they built a city, and dwelt therein, and that their city  
 “ was named *Hierosyla*, from this their robbing of the tem-  
 “ ples ; but that still, upon the success they had afterwards,  
 “ they, in time, changed its denomination, that it might  
 “ not be a reproach to them, and called the city *Hierosoly-*  
 “ *ma*, and themselves *Hierosolymites*.”

35. Now this man did not discover and mention the same king with the others, but feigned a newer name, and, passing by the dream, and the Egyptian prophet, he brings him to [Jupiter] Hammon, in order to gain oracles about the scabby and leprous people ; for he says, That the multitude of the Jews were gathered together at the temples. Now it is uncertain whether he ascribes this name to these sepers, or to those that were subject to such diseases among the Jews only ; for he describes them as a people of the Jews. What people does he mean ? foreigners, or those of that country ? Why then dost thou call them Jews if they were Egyptians ? But if they were foreigners, why dost thou not tell us whence they came ? And how could it be that, after the king had drowned many of them in the sea, and ejected the rest into desert places, there should be still so great a multitude remaining ? Or after what manner did they pass over the desert, and get the land which we now dwell in, and build our city, and that temple which hath been so famous among all mankind ? And besides, he ought to have spoken more about our legislator, than by giving us his bare name ; and to have informed us of what



nation he was, and what parents he was derived from ; and to have assigned the reasons why he undertook to make such laws concerning the gods, and concerning matters of injustice with regard to men during that journey. For, in case the people were by birth Egyptians, they would not on the sudden have so easily changed the customs of their country : and in case they had been foreigners, they had, for certain, some laws or other, which had been kept by them from long custom. It is true, that with regard to those who had ejected them, they might have sworn never to bear good will to them, and might have had a plausible reason for so doing. But if these men resolved to wage an implacable war against all men, in case they had acted as wickedly as he relates of them, and this while they wanted the assistance of all men, this demonstrates a kind of mad conduct indeed ; but not of the men themselves, but very greatly so of him that tells such lies about them. He hath also impudence enough to say, that a name implying *robbers* \* of the temples was given to their city, and that this name was afterward changed. The reason of which is plain, that the former name brought reproach and hatred upon them in the times of their posterity, while it seems, those that built the city thought they did honour to the city by giving it such a name. So we see that this fine fellow had such an unbounded inclination to reproach us, that he did not understand the robbery of temples is not expressed by the same word and name among the Jews, as it is among the Greeks. But why should a man say any more to a person who tells such impudent lies ? However, since this book is arisen to a competent length, I will make another beginning, and endeavour to add what still remains to perfect my design in the following book.

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\* This is the meaning of *Hierosyla* in Greek, not in Hebrew.

## BOOK II.

§ 1. IN the former book, most honoured Epaphroditus, I have demonstrated our antiquity, and confirmed the truth of what I have said from the writings of the Phenicians and Chaldeans, and Egyptians. I have moreover produced many of the Grecian writers as witnesses thereto. I have also made a refutation of Manetho and Cheremon, and of certain others of our enemies. I shall now,\* therefore, bring a confutation of the remaining authors who have written any thing against us; although, I confess, I have had a doubt upon me about Apion † the grammarian, whether I ought to take the trouble of confuting him or not, for some of his writings contain much the same accusations which the others have laid against us, some things that he hath added are very frigid and contemptible, and for the greatest part of what he says, it is very scurrilous, and to speak no more than the plain truth, it shews him to be a very unlearned person, and what he lays together, looks like the work of a man of very bad morals and of one no better in his whole life than a mountebank. Yet because there are a great many men so very foolish, that they are rather caught by such orations than by what is written with care, and take pleasure in reproaching other men, and cannot abide to hear them commended, I thought it to be necessary not to let this man go off without examination, who had written such an accusation against us, as if he would bring us to make an answer in open court. For I also have observed, that many men are very much delighted, when they see a man, who first began to reproach another, to be himself exposed to contempt

\* The former part of this second book is written against the calumnies of Apion, and then, more briefly, against the like calumnies of Apollonius Mollo. But after that, Josephus leaves off any more particular reply to those adversaries of the Jews, and gives us a large and excellent description and vindication of that theocracy which was settled for the Jewish nation by Moses, their great legislator.

† Called by Tiberius, *Cymbalum Mundi*, the drum of the world.

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“ancient men, that Moses was of Heliopolis.” To be sure that was because being a younger man himself, he believed those that by their elder age were acquainted and conversed with him ! Now this grammarian as he was, could not certainly tell which was the poet Homer’s country, no more than he could which was the country of Pythagoras, who lived comparatively but a little while ago ; yet does he thus easily determine the age of Moses, who preceded them such a vast number of years, as depending on his ancient men’s relation, which shews how notorious a liar he was. But then as to this chronological determination of the time when he says he brought the leprous people, the blind and the lame out of Egypt, see how well this most accurate grammarian of ours agrees with those that have written before him. Manetho says, that the Jews departed out of Egypt in the reign of Tethmosis. three hundred ninety-three years before Danaus fled to Argos ; Lysimachus says it was under king Bocchoris, that is, one thousand seven hundred years ago ; Molo and some others determined it as every one pleased : but this Apion of ours, as deserving to be believed before them, hath determined it exactly to have been in the seventh Olympiad, and the first year of that Olympiad ; the very same year in which he says that Carthage was built by the Phenicians. The reason why he added this building of Carthage was, to be sure in order, as he thought, to strengthen his assertion by so evident a character of chronology. But he was not aware, that this character confutes his assertion ; for if we may give credit to the Phenician records as to the time of the first coming of their colony to Carthage, they relate, that Hirom their king was above an hundred and fifty years earlier than the building of Carthage, concerning whom I have formerly produced testimonials out of those Phenician records, as also that this Hirom was a friend of Solomon when he was building the temple at Jerusalem, and gave him great assistance in his building that temple : while still Solomon himself built that temple six hundred and twelve years after the Jews came out of Egypt. As for the number of those that were expelled out of Egypt, he hath contrived to have the very same number with Lysimachus, and says they were an hundred and ten thousand. He then assigns a certain wonderful and plausible occasion for the name of *Sabbath* ; for he says, That “when the

"Jews had travelled a six days journey, they had buboes in their groins ; and that on this account it was that they rested on the seventh day, as having got safely to that country which is now called *Judea* ; that then they preserved the language of the Egyptians, and called that day the *Sabbath* ; for that malady of buboes on their groin was named *Sabatos* by the Egyptians." And would not a man now laugh at this fellow's trifling, or rather hate his impudence in writing thus ? We must it seems, take it for granted that all these hundred and ten thousand men must have these buboes. But for certain, if those men had been blind and - lame, and had all sorts of distempers upon them, as Apion says they had, they could not have gone one single day's journey : but if they had been all able to travel over a large desert, and besides that to fight and conquer those that opposed them they had not all of them had buboes on their groins after the sixth day was over ; for no such distemper comes naturally and of necessity upon those that travel ; but still, when there are many ten thousands in a camp together they constantly march a settled pace [in a day.] Nor is it at all probable that such a thing should happen by chance : this would be prodigiously absurd to be supposed. However, our admirable author Apion had before told us, That "they came to Judea in six days time ;" and again, That "Moses went up to a mountain that lay between Egypt and Arabia, which was called *Sinai*, and was concealed there forty days, and that when he came down from thence, he gave laws to the Jews." But then, how was it possible for them to tarry forty days in a desert place, where there was no water, and at the same time to pass all over the country between that and Judea in the six days ? And as for this grammatical translation of the word *Sabbath*, it either contains an instance of his great impudence or gross ignorance ; for the words *Sabbo* and *Sabbath* are widely different from one another ; for the word *Sabbath* in the Jewish language denotes *rest* from all sorts of work ; but the word *Sabbo*, as he affirms, denotes among the Egyptians the malady of a *bubo* in the groin.

3. This is that novel account which the Egyptian Apion gives us concerning the Jews' departure out of Egypt, and is no better than a contrivance of his own.—But why should we wonder at the lies he tells about our forefathers,

when he affirms them to be of Egyptian original, when he lies also about himself? for although he was born at Oasis in Egypt, he pretends to be, as a man may say, the top man of all the Egyptians; yet does he forswear his real country and progenitors, and by falsely pretending to be born at Alexandria, cannot deny the pravity of his family; for you see how justly he calls those *Egyptians* whom he hates, and endeavours to reproach; for had he not deemed Egyptians to be a name of great reproach; he would not have avoided the name of an Egyptian himself; as we know that those who brag of their own countries value themselves upon the denomination they acquire thereby, and reprove such as unjustly lay claim thereto. As for the Egyptians claim to be of our kindred, they do it on one of the following accounts; I mean either as they value themselves upon it, and pretend to bear that relation to us; or else as they would draw us in to be partakers of their own infamy. But this fine fellow Apion seems to broach this reproachful appellation against us, [that we were originally Egyptians,] in order to bestow it on the Alexandrians as a reward for the privilege they had given him of being a fellow-citizen with them: he also is apprized of the ill-will the Alexandrians bear to those Jews who are their fellow-citizens, and so proposes to himself to reproach them, although he must thereby include all the other Egyptians also; while in both cases he is no better than an impudent liar.

4. But let us now see what those heavy and wicked crimes are, which Apion charges upon the Alexandrian Jews. "They came," says he, "out of Syria, and inhabited near the tempestuous sea, and were in the neighbourhood of the dashing of the waves." Now, if the place of habitation includes any thing that is reproachful, this man reproaches not his own real country, [Egypt,] but what he pretends to be his own country, Alexandria; for all are agreed in this, that the part of that city which is near the sea, is the best part of all for habitation. Now if the Jews gained that part of the city by force, and have kept it hitherto without impeachment, this is a mark of their valour: but in reality it was Alexander himself that gave them that place for their habitation, when they obtained equal privileges there with the Macedonians. Nor can I devise what Apion

would have said, had there habitation been at Necropolis,\* and not been fixed hard by the royal palace, [as it is;] nor had their nation had the denomination of Macedonians given them till this very day, [as they have.] Had this man now read the epistles of king Alexander, or those of Ptolemy, the son of Lagus, or met with the writings of the succeeding kings, or that pillar which is still standing at Alexandria, and contains the privileges which the great [Julius] Cæsar bestowed upon the Jews; had this man, I say, known these records, and yet hath the impudence to write in contradiction to them, he hath shewn himself to be a wicked man: but if he knew nothing of these records, he hath shewn himself to be a man very ignorant: nay, when he appears to wonder how Jews could be called *Alexandrians*, this is another like instance of his ignorance: for all such as are called out to be colonies, although they be ever so far remote from one another in their original, receive their names from those that bring them to their new habitation. And what occasion is there to speak of others, when those of us Jews that dwell at Antioch are named *Antiochians*, because Seleucus the founder of that city gave them the privileges belonging thereto? After the like manner, do those Jews that inhabit Ephesus and the other cities of Ionia, enjoy the same name with those that were originally born there, by the grant of the succeeding princes: nay, the kindness and humanity of the Romans hath been so great, that it hath granted leave to almost all others to take the same name of *Romans* upon them: I mean not particular men only, but entire and large nations themselves also? for those anciently named *Iberi*, and *Tyrcheni*, and *Sabini*, are now called *Romani*. And if Apion reject this way of obtaining the privilege of a citizen of Alexandria, let him abstain from calling himself an *Alexandrian*, hereafter; or otherwise how can he who was born in the very heart of Egypt be an Alexandrian, if this way of accepting such a privilege, of what he would have us deprived, be once abrogated? although indeed these Romans, who are now the lords of the habitable earth, have forbidden the Egyptians to have the privileges of any city whatsoever; while this fine fellow, who is willing to partake of such a privilege himself as he is forbidden to make use of endeavours

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\* The burial-place for dead bodies, as I suppose.

by calumnies to deprive those of it who have justly received it: for Alexander did not therefore get some of our nation to Alexandria, because he wanted inhabitants for this his city, on whose building he had bestowed so much pains; but this was given to our people as a reward, because he had, upon a careful trial, found them all to have been men of virtue and fidelity to him: For, as Hecateus says concerning us, "Alexander honoured our nation to such a degree, that, for the equity and the fidelity which the Jews had exhibited to him, he permitted them to hold the country of Samaria free from tribute. Of the same mind also was Ptolemy, the son of Lagus, as to those Jews who dwelt in Alexandria:" for he entrusted the fortresses of Egypt into their hands as believing they would keep them faithfully and valiantly for him; and when he was desirous to secure the government of Cyrene and the other cities of Libya to himself, he sent a party of Jews to inhabit them. And for his successor Ptolemy, who was called *Philadelphus*, he did not only set all those of our nation free who were captives under him, but did frequently \* give money [for their ransom;] and, what was his greatest work of all, he had a great desire of knowing our laws, and of obtaining the books of our sacred scriptures; accordingly he desired that such men might be sent him as might interpret our law to him; and in order to have them well compiled, he committed that care to no ordinary persons, but ordained that Demetrius Phalereus, and Andreas, and Aristas; the first, Demetrius, the most learned person of his age, and the others such as were entrusted with the guard of his body, should take the care of this matter: nor would he certainly have been so desirous of learning our law and the philosophy of our nation, had he despised the men that made use of it, or had he not indeed had them in great admiration.

5. Now, this Apion was unacquainted with almost all the kings of those Macedonians whom he pretends to have been his progenitors; who were yet very well affected towards us: for the third of those Ptolemies, who was called

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\* For *πολλakis*, or frequently, I would here read *πολλα*, a great deal of money; for we indeed read both in Aristas and Josephus, that this Ptolemy Philadelphus once gave a very great sum of money to redeem above 100,000 Jewish captives, but not of any sums of money which he disbursed on their account at other times, that I know of.



*Euergetes*, when he had gotten possession of all Syria by force, did not offer his thank-offerings to the Egyptian gods for his victory, but came to Jerusalem, and according to our own laws, offered many sacrifices to God, and dedicated to him such gifts as were suitable to such a victory: and, as for Ptolemy Philometor and his wife Cleopatra, they committed their whole kingdom to Jews, when Onias and Dositheus, both Jews, whose names are laughed at by Apion, were the generals of their whole army. But certainly, instead of reproaching them, he ought to admire their actions, and return them thanks for saving Alexandria, whose citizen he pretends to be: for when the Alexandrians were making war with Cleopatra the queen, and were in danger of being utterly ruined, these Jews brought them to terms of agreement, and freed them from the miseries of a civil war. "But then," says Apion, "Onias brought a small army afterward upon the city at the time when Thermus the Roman ambassador was there present." Yes, do I venture to say, and that he did rightly and very justly in so doing; for that Ptolemy who was called *Physco*, upon the death of his brother Philometor, came from Cyrene, and would have ejected Cleopatra as well as her sons out of their kingdom, that he might obtain it for himself unjustly.\* For this cause then it was, that Onias undertook a war against him on Cleopatra's account; nor would he desert that trust the royal family had reposed in him in their distress. Accordingly, God gave a remarkable attestation to his righteous procedure; for when Ptolemy *Physco* † had the presumption to fight against Onias's army, and had caught all the Jews that were in the city [Alexandria,] with their children and wives, and exposed them naked and in bonds to his elephants, that they might be trodden upon and destroyed, and when he had made those elephants drunk for that purpose, the event proved contrary to his preparations; for these elephants left the Jews who were exposed to them,

\* Here begins a great defect in the Greek copy; but the old Latin version fully supplies that defect.

† What error is here generally believed to have been committed by our Josephus in ascribing a deliverance of the Jews to the reign of Ptolemy *Physco*, the seventh of those Ptolemies, which has been universally supposed to have happened under Ptolemy Philopator, the fourth of them, is no better than a gross error of the moderns, and not of Josephus, as I have fully proved in the Authent. Rec. part i. p. 200—404, whither I refer the inquisitive reader.

and fell violently upon Physco's friends, and slew a great number of them : nay, after this, Ptolemy saw a terrible ghost, which prohibited his hurting those men ; his very concubine whom he loved so well, some call her *Ithaoa*, and others *Irene*, making supplication to him, that he would not perpetrate so great a wickedness. So he complied with her request, and repented of what he either had already done, or was about to do : whence it is well known, that the Alexandrian Jews do with good reason celebrate this day, on the account that they had thereon been vouchsafed such an evident deliverance from God. However, Apion, the common calumniator of men, hath the presumption to accuse the Jews for making this war against Physco, when he ought to have commended them for the same. This man also makes mention of Cleopatra the last queen of Alexandria, and abuses us, because she was ungrateful to us ; whereas he ought to have reproved her, who indulged herself in all kinds of injustice and wicked practices, both with regard to her nearest relations and husbands who had loved her, and indeed in general with regard to all the Romans, and those emperors that were her benefactors ; who also had her sister Arsinoe slain in a temple, when she had done her no harm ; moreover, she had her brother slain by private treachery, and she destroyed the gods of her country and the sepulchres of her progenitors ; and while she had received her kingdom from the first Cæsar, she had the impudence to rebel against his son \* and successor : nay, she corrupted Antony with her love-tricks, and rendered him an enemy to his country, and made him treacherous to his friends and [by his means] despoiled some of their royal authority, and forced others in her madness to act wickedly. But what need I enlarge upon this head any farther, when she left Antony in his fight at sea, though he were her husband, and the father of their common children and compelled him to resign up his government, with the army ; and to follow her [into Egypt :] nay, when last of all Cæsar had taken Alexandria, she came to that pitch of cruelty, that she declared she had some hope of preserving her affairs still, in case she could kill the Jews, though it were with her own hand ; to such a degree of barbarity and perfidiousness had she arrived. And

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\* Sister's son, and adopted son.

doth any one think that we cannot boast ourselves of any thing, if, as Apion says, this queen did not at a time of famine distribute wheat among us? However, she at length met with the punishment she deserved. As for us Jews, we appeal to the great Cæsar what assistance we brought him, and what fidelity we shewed to him against the Egyptians; as also to the senate and its decrees, and the epistles of Augustus Cæsar, whereby our merits [to the Romans] are justified. Apion ought to have looked upon those epistles, and in particular to have examined the testimonies given on our behalf under Alexander and all the Ptolemies, and the decrees of the senate and of the greatest Roman emperors. And if Germanicus was not able to make a distribution of corn to all the inhabitants of Alexandria, that only shews what a barren time it was, and how great a want there was then of corn, but tends nothing to the accusation of the Jews; for what all the emperors have thought of the Alexandrian Jews is well known, for this distribution of wheat was no otherwise omitted with regard to the Jews, than it was with regard to the other inhabitants of Alexandria. But they still were desirous to preserve what the kings had formerly entrusted to their care, I mean the custody of the river: nor did those kings think them unworthy of having the entire custody thereof upon all occasions.

6. But, besides this, Apion objects to us thus; "if the "Jews," says he, "be citizens Alexandria, why do they "not worship the same gods with the Alexandrians?" To which I give this answer: Since you are yourselves Egyptians, why do you fight it out one against another, and have implacable wars about your religion? At this rate, we must not call you all *Egyptians*, nor indeed in general *men*, because you breed up with great care beasts of nature quite contrary to that of men, although the nature of all men seems to be one and the same. Now, if there be such differences in opinion among you Egyptians, why are you surprised that those who came to Alexandria from another country, and had original laws of their own before, should persevere in the observance of those laws? But still he charges us with being the authors of seditions: which accusation, if it be a just one, why is it not laid against us all, since we are known to be all of one mind. Moreover, those that search into such matters will soon discover, that the authors of sedition have been such citizens of Alexandria

as Apion is; for while they were the Grecians and Macedonians who were in possession of this city, there was no sedition raised against us, and we were premitted to observe our ancient solemnities; but when the number of the Egyptians therein came to be considerable, the times grew confused, and then these seditions brake out still more and more, while our people continued uncorrupted. These Egyptians, therefore, were the authors of these troubles, who having not the constancy of Macedonians, nor the prudence of Grecians, indulged all of them the evil manners of Egyptians, and continued their ancient hatred against us; for what is here so presumptuously charged upon us, is owing to the differences that are amongst themselves; while many of them have not obtained the privileges of citizens in proper times, but style those who are well known to have had that privilege extended to them all no other than foreigners; for it does not appear, that any of the kings have ever formerly bestowed those privileges of citizens upon Egyptians, no more than have the emperors done it more lately, while it was Alexander who introduced us into this city at first, the kings augmented our privileges therein, and the Romans have been pleased to preserve them always inviolable. Moreover Apion would lay a blot upon us because we do not erect images for our emperors; as if those emperors did not know this before, or stood in need of Apion as their defender; whereas he ought rather to have admired the magnanimity and modesty of the Romans, whereby they do not compel those that are subject to them to transgress the laws of their countries, but are willing to receive the honours due to them after such a manner as those who are to pay them esteem consistent with piety and with their own laws: for they do not thank people for conferring honours upon them, when they are compelled by violence so to do. Accordingly, since the Grecians and some other nations think it a right thing to make images; nay, when they have painted the pictures of their parents, and wives, and children, they exult for joy; and some there are who take pictures for themselves of such persons as were no way related to them; nay, some take the pictures of such servants as they were fond of. What wonder is it then, if such as these appear willing to pay the same respect to their princes and lords? But then, our legislator hath forbidden us to make images, not by way of denunciation be-

forehand, that the Roman authority was not to be honoured, but as despising a thing that was neither necessary or useful for either God or man, and he forbade them, as we shall prove hereafter to make these images for any part of the animal creation, and much less for God himself, who is no part of such animal creation. Yet hath our legislator no where forbidden us to pay honours to worthy men, provided they be of another kind and inferior to those we pay to God; with which honours we willingly testify our respect to our emperors and to the people of Rome: we also offer perpetual sacrifices for them; nor do we only offer them every day at the common expenses of all the Jews, but although we offer no other such sacrifices out of our common expenses, no not for our own children, yet do we this as a peculiar honour to the emperors, and to them alone, while we do the same to no other person whomsoever. And let this suffice for an answer in general to Apion, as to what he says with relation to the Alexandrian Jews.

7. However, I cannot but admire those other authors who furnished this man with such his materials; I mean Possidonius and Apollonius [the son of] Molo,\* who while they accuse us for not worshipping the same gods whom others worship, they think themselves not guilty of impiety when they tell lies of us, and frame absurd and reproachful stories about our temple; whereas it is a most shameful thing for free men to forge lies on any occasion, and much more so to forge them about our temple, which was so famous over all the world, and was preserved so sacred by us; for Apion hath the impudence to pretend, "That the Jews placed an ass's head in their holy place," and he affirms, "That this was discovered when Antiochus Epiphanes spoiled our temple, and found that ass's head there made of gold, and worth a great deal of money." To this my first answer shall be this: that had there been any such thing among us, an Egyptian ought by no means to have thrown it in our teeth, since an ass is not a more contemptible animal than \*\*\*† and goats, and other such creatures which among them are gods. But besides this answer, I say farther, how comes it about that Apion does

\* Called more properly *Molo* or *Apollonius Molo*, as hereafter; for Apollonius, the son of Molo, was another person, as Strabo informs us, lib. xiv.

† *Furones* in the Latin, which what animal it denotes does not now appear.

not understand this to be no other than a palpable lie, and to be confuted by the thing itself as utterly incredible? For we Jews are always governed by the same laws, in which we constantly persevere; and although many misfortunes have befallen our city, as the like have befallen others and although Theos [Epiphanes] and Pompey the Great, and Licinius Crassus, and last of all Titus Cæsar, have conquered us in war, and gotten possession of our temple; yet have they none of them found any such thing there, nor indeed any thing but what was agreeable to the strictest piety; although what they found we are not at liberty to reveal to other nations. But for Antiochus [Epiphanes,] he had no just cause for that ravage in our temple that he made; he only came to it when he wanted money, without declaring himself our enemy, and attacked us while we were his associates and his friends: nor did he find any thing there that was ridiculous. This is attested by many worthy writers; Polybius of Megalopolis, Strabo of Cappadocia, Nicolaus of Damascus, Timagenes, Castor the chronologer, and Apollodorus,\* who all say, that it was out of Antiochus's want of money that he broke his league with the Jews, and despoiled their temple when it was full of gold and silver. Apion ought to have had a regard to these facts, unless he had himself had either an ass's heart, or a dog's impudence; of such a dog I mean as they worship; for he had no other external reason for the lies he tells of us. As for us Jews, we ascribe no honour or power to asses, as do the Egyptians to crocodiles and asps, when they esteem such as are seized upon by the former, or bitten by the latter, to be happy persons, and persons worthy of God. Asses are the same with us which they are with other wise men, *viz.* creatures that bear the burdens that we lay upon them; but if they come to our threshing-floors, and eat our corn, or do not perform what we impose upon them, we beat them with a great many stripes, because it is their business to minister to us in our husbandry affairs. But this Apion of ours was either perfectly unskilful in the composition of such fallacious discourses, or

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\* It is a great pity that these six Pagan authors, here mentioned to have described the famous profanation of the Jewish temple by Antiochus Epiphanes, should be all lost; I mean so far of their writings as contained that description; though it is plain Josephus perused them all, as extant in his time.

however, when he began [somewhat better,] he was not able to persevere in what he had undertaken, since he hath no manner of success in those reproaches he casts upon us.

8 He adds another Grecian fable, in order to reproach us. In reply to which it would be enough to say, that they who presume to speak about divine worship, ought not to be ignorant of this plain truth, that it is a degree of less impurity to pass through temples, than to forge wicked calumnies of its priests. Now, such men as he are more zealous to justify a sacrilegious king, than to write what is just, and what is true about us, and about our temple : for when they are desirous of gratifying Antiochus, and of concealing that perfidiousness and sacrilege which he was guilty of, with regard to our nation, when he wanted money, they endeavour to disgrace us, and tell lies even relating to futurities. Apion becomes other men's prophet upon this occasion, and says, " That Antiochus found in our temple  
" a bed, and a man lying upon it, with a small table before  
" him, full of dainties, from the [fishes of the] sea, and  
" the fowls of the dry land ; that this man was amazed at  
" these dainties thus set before him, that he immediately  
" adored the king, upon his coming in, as hoping that he  
" would afford him all possible assistance ; that he fell  
" down upon his knees and stretched out to him his right  
" hand, and begged to be released : and that when the  
" king bid him sit down, and tell him who he was, and why  
" he dwelt there, and what was the meaning of those various sorts of food that were set before him, the man made  
" lamentable complaint and with sighs, and tears in his eyes,  
" gave him this account of the distress he was in, and said,  
" That he was a Greek, and that, as he went over this province in order to get his living, he was seized upon by  
" foreigners, on a sudden, and brought to this temple and  
" shut up therein, and was seen by nobody, but was fattened by these curious provisions thus set before him : and  
" that truly at the first such unexpected advantages seemed  
" to him matter of great joy ; that, after a while, they  
" brought a suspicion upon him, and at length astonishment,  
" what their meaning should be ; that at last he inquired of  
" the servants that came to him, and was by them informed,  
" that it was in order to the fulfilling a law of the Jews,  
" which they must not tell him, that he was thus fed ;  
" and that they did the same at a set time every year : that

“ they used to catch a Greek foreigner, and fat him thus  
“ up every year, and then lead him to a certain wood, and  
“ kill him, and sacrifice with their accustomed solemn-  
“ ties, and taste of his entrails, and take an oath upon this  
“ sacrificing a Greek, that they would ever be at enmity  
“ with the Greeks ; and that then they threw the remain-  
“ ing parts of the miserable wretch into a certain pit.” A-  
pion adds farther, “ That the man said there were but a few  
“ days to come ere he was to be slain, and implored Antio-  
“ chus that, out of the reverence he bore to the Grecian  
“ gods, he would disappoint the snares the Jews laid  
“ for his blood, and would deliver him from the miseries  
“ with which he was encompassed.” Now this is such a  
most tragical fable, as is full of nothing but cruelty and im-  
pudence ; yet does it not excuse Antiochus of his sacrilegious  
attempts, as those who write it in his vindication are wil-  
ling to suppose : for he could not presume beforehand that he  
should meet with any such thing in coming to the temple,  
but must have found it unexpectedly. He was therefore still  
an impious person, that was given to unlawful pleasures, and  
had no regard to God in his actions. But [as for Apion] he  
hath done whatever his extravagant love for lying hath dic-  
tated to him, as it is most easy to discover by a considera-  
tion of his writings ; for the difference of our laws is known  
not to regard the Grecians only, but they are principally op-  
posite to the Egyptians and to some other nations also : for  
while it so falls out, that men of all countries come sometimes,  
and sojourn among us, how comes it about that we take an  
oath, and conspire only against the Grecians ? and that by the  
effusion of their blood also ? Or, how is it possible that all  
the Jews should get together to these sacrifices, and the en-  
trails of one man should be sufficient for so many thousands  
to taste of them, as Apion pretends ? Or why did not the  
king carry this man, whosoever he was, and whatsoever  
was his name, (which is not set down in Apion’s book,) with  
great pomp back into his own country ? When he might there-  
by have been esteemed a religious person himself, and a mighty  
lover of the Greeks, and might thereby have procured him-  
self great assistance from all men, against that hatred the  
Jews bore to him. But I leave this matter ; for the proper way  
of confuting fools, is not to use bare words, but to appeal to  
the things themselves that make against them. Now then, all such  
as never saw the construction



of our temple of what nature it was, know well enough how the purity of it was never to be profaned ; for it had four \* several courts, encompassed with cloisters round about every one of which had, by our law, a peculiar degree of separation from the rest. Into the first court every body was allowed to go, even foreigners, and none but women, during their courses were prohibited to pass through it ; all the Jews went into the second court, as well as their wives, when they were free from all uncleanness ; into the third court went in the Jewish men, when they were clean and purified ; into the fourth went the priests, having on their sacerdotal garments ; but for the most sacred place none went in but the high-priests, clothed in their peculiar garments, Now there is so great caution used about these offices of religion, that the priests are appointed to go into the temple but at certain hours ; for, in the morning at the opening of the inner temple, those that are to officiate receive the sacrifices, as they do again at noon, till the doors are shut. Lastly it is not so much as lawful to carry any vessel into the holy house ; nor is there any thing therein, but the altar [of incense] the table [of shew-bread], the censer, and the candlestick which are all written in the law : for there is nothing farther there, nor are there any mysteries performed that may not be spoken of ; nor is their any feasting within the place. For what I have now said is publicly known, and supported by the testimony of the whole people and their operations are very manifest : for although there be four courses of the priests, and every one of them have above five thousand men in them, yet do they officiate on certain days only : and when those days are over, other priests succeed in the performance of their sacrifices, and assemble together at mid-day, and receive the keys of the temple and the vessels by tale, without any thing relating to food or drink being carried into the temple : nay, we are not allowed to offer such things at the altar, excepting what is prepared for the sacrifices.

9. What then can we say of Apion, but that he examined nothing that concerned these things, while still he utter-

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\* It is remarkable that Josephus here, and, I think, no where else, reckons up four distinct courts of the temple that of the Gentiles, that of the women of Israel, that of the men of Israel, and that of the priests ; as also that the court of the women admitted of the men, (I suppose only the husbands of those wives that were therein), while the court of the men did not admit any women into it at all.

ed incredible words about them ? but it is a great shame for a grammarian not to be able to write true history. Now, if he knew the purity of our temple, he hath entirely omitted to take notice of it ; but he forges a story about the seizing of a Grecian, about ineffable food, and the most delicious preparation of dainties ; and pretends that strangers could go into a place whereinto the noblest men among the Jews are not allowed to enter unless they be priests. This, therefore, is the utmost degree of impiety, and a voluntary lie, in order to the delusion of those who will not examine into the truth of matters. Whereas, such unspeakable mischiefs as are above related, have been occasioned by such calumnies that are raised upon us.

10. Nay this miracle of piety derides us farther, and adds the following pretended facts to his former fable ; for he says, that this man related how, “ while the Jews were “ once in a long war with the Idumeans, there came a man “ out of one of the cities of the Idumeans, who there had “ worshipped Apollo. This man, whose name is said to “ have been *Zabidus*, came to the Jews, and promised “ that he would deliver Apollo, the god of Dora, into “ their hands, and that he would come to our temple, if “ they would all come up with him, and bring the whole “ multitude of the Jews with them ; that *Zabidus* made “ him a certain wooden instrument, and put it round about “ him and set three rows of lamps therein, and walked after “ such a manner, that he appeared to those that stood a great “ way off him to be a kind of star walking upon the earth : “ that the Jews were terribly frightened at so surprising an appearance, and stood very quiet at a distance ; and that “ *Zabidus*, while they continued so very quiet, went into the “ holy house, and carried off that golden head of an ass, (for “ so facetiously does he write), and then went his way back “ again to Dora in great haste.” And say you so, sir ? as I may reply ; then does Apion load the ass, that is himself, and lays on him a burden of fooleries and lies : for he writes of places that have no being, and not knowing the cities he speaks of, he changes their situation ; for Idumea borders upon our country and is near to Gaza, in which there is no such city as Dora ; although there be, it is true, a city named *Dorá* in Phenicia, near mount Carmel, but

is four days journey from Idumea.\* Now, then, why does this man accuse us because we have not gods in common with other nations? If our forefathers were so easily prevailed upon to have Apollo come to them, and thought they saw him walking upon the earth, and the stars with him? for certainly those who have so many festivals, wherein they light lamps, must yet, at this rate, have never seen a candlestick! but still it seems that while Zabidus took his journey over the country, where were so many ten thousands of people, nobody met him. He also, it seems, even in a time of war found the walls of Jerusalem destitute of guards; I omit the rest. Now the doors of the holy house were seventy † cubits high, and twenty cubits broad, they were all plated over with gold, and almost of solid gold itself, and there were no fewer than twenty ‡ men required to shut them every day; nor was it lawful ever to leave them open, though, it seems, this lamp-bearer of ours opened them easily, or thought he opened them, as he thought he had the ass's head in his hand. Whether, therefore, he returned it to us again, or whether Apion took it and brought it into the temple again, that Antiochus might find it, and afford a handle for a second fable of Apion's is uncertain.

11. Apion also tells a false story, when he mentions an oath of ours, as if we "swore by God, the maker of the heaven, and earth, and sea, to bear no good-will to any foreigner, and particularly to none of the Greeks." Now this liar ought to have said directly, That "we would bear no good-will to any foreigner, and particularly to none of the Egyptians." For then his story about the oath would have squared with the rest of his original forgeries, in case our forefathers had been driven away by their kinsmen, the Egyptians, not on account of any wickedness they had been guilty of, but on account of the calamities they were under; for as to the Grecians, we are rather remote from them in place, than different from them in our institutions; insomuch that we have no enmity with them, nor any jealousy of them. On the contrary, it hath so happened, that many of them have come over to our laws,

\* Judea, in the Greek, by a gross mistake of the transcribers.

† Seven, in the Greek, by a like gross mistake of the transcribers. See Of the War, B. V. ch. 5. § 4.

‡ Two hundred, in the Greek, contrary to the twenty in the War, B. vii. ch. v. § 3.

and some of them have continued in their observation, although others of them had not courage enough to persevere, and so departed from them again ; nor did any body ever hear this oath sworn by us ; Apion it seems, was the only person that heard it, for he indeed was the first composer of it.

12. However, Apion deserves to be admired for his great prudence, as to what I am going to say, which is this, That, "there is a plain mark among us, that we neither "have just laws, nor worship God as we ought to do, because we are not governors, but are rather in subjection "to Gentiles, sometimes to one nation and sometimes to "another ; and that our city hath been liable to several "calamities, while their city [Alexandria] hath been of old "time an imperial city, and not used to be in subjection to "the Romans " But now this man had better leave off his bragging, for every body but himself would think, that Apion said what he hath said against himself ; for there are very few nations that have had the good fortune to continue many generations in the principality, but still the mutations in human affairs have put them into subjection under others ; and most nations have been often subdued, and brought into subjection by others. Now for the Egyptians perhaps they are the only nation that have had this extraordinary privilege to have never served any of those monarchs who subdued Asia and Europe, and this on account, as they pretend, that the gods fled into their country, and saved themselves by being changed into the shapes of wild beasts ! Whereas these Egyptians \* are the very people that appear to have never, in all the past ages, had one day of freedom, no not so much as from their own lords. For I will not reproach them with relating the manner how the Persians used them, and this not once only,

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\* This notorious disgrace belonging peculiarly to the people of Egypt, ever since the times of the old prophets of the Jews, noted both § 4. already, and here, may be confirmed by the testimony of Isidorus, an Egyptian of Pelusium, Epist. lib. i. Ep. 489. And this is a remarkable completion of the ancient prediction of God, by Ezek. xxix. 14, 15. "That the Egyptians "should be a base kingdom, the basest of the kingdoms," and that it "should "not exalt itself any more above the nations." The truth of which still farther appears by the present observation of Josephus, that these Egyptians had never, in all the past ages since Sesostris, had one day of liberty, no not so much as to have been free from despotic power under any of the monarchs to that day. And all this has been found equally true in the latter ages, under the Romans, Saracens, Mammalukes, and Turks, from the days of Josephus to the present age also.

but many times, when they laid their cities waste, demolished their temples, and cut the throats of those animals whom they esteemed to be gods: for it is not reasonable to imitate the clownish ignorance of Apion, who hath no regard to the misfortunes of the Athenians, or of the Lacedemonians, the latter of which were styled by all men the most courageous, and the former the most religious of the Grecians. I say nothing of such kings as have been famous for piety, particularly of one of them whose name was *Cresus*, nor what calamities he met with in his life; I say nothing of the citadel of Athens, of the temple at Ephesus, of that at Delphi, nor of ten thousand others which have been burnt down, while nobody casts reproaches on those that were the sufferers, but on those that were the actors therein. But now we have met with Apion, an accuser of our nation, though one that still forgets the miseries of his own people, the Egyptians; but it is that Sesostris, who was once so celebrated a king of Egypt that hath blinded him: now we will not brag of our kings, David and Solomon, though they conquered many nations; accordingly, we will let them alone. However, Apion is ignorant of what every body knows, that the Egyptians were servants to the Persians, and afterwards to the Macedonians, when they were lords of Asia, and were no better than slaves, while we have enjoyed liberty formerly; nay, more than that, have had the dominion of the cities that lie round about us, and this nearly for an hundred and twenty years together, until Pompeius Magnus. And when all the kings every where were conquered by the Romans our ancestors were the only people who continued to be esteemed their confederates and friends, on account of their fidelity to them.

13. But, says Apion, "we Jews have not had any wonderful men amongst us, nor any inventors of arts, nor any eminent for wisdom." He then enumerates Socrates, and Zeno, and Cleanthes, and some others of the same sort; and, after all, he adds himself to them, which is the most wonderful thing of all that he says, and pronounces Alexandria to be happy, because it hath such a citizen as he is in it; for he was the fittest man to be a witness to his own deserts, although he hath appeared to all others no better than a wicked mountebank of a corrupt life and ill discourses; on which account one may justly pity Alexandria,

if it should value itself upon such a citizen as he is. But as to our own men, we have had those who have been as deserving of commendation as any other whosoever, and such as have perused our Antiquities cannot be ignorant of them.

14. As to the other things which he sets down as blameworthy, it may perhaps be the best way to let them pass without apology, that he may be allowed to be his own accuser, and the accuser of the rest of the Egyptians. However, he accuses us for sacrificing animals, and for abstaining from swine's flesh, and laughs at us for the circumcision of our privy members. Now, as for our slaughter of tame animals for sacrifices, it is common to us and to all other men; but this Apion, by making it a crime to sacrifice them, demonstrates himself to be an Egyptian; for had he been either a Grecian, or a Macedonian, [as he pretends to be], he had not shewed any uneasiness at it; for those people glory in sacrificing whole hecatombs to the gods, and make use of those sacrifices for feasting; and yet is not the world thereby rendered destitute of cattle, as Apion was afraid would come to pass. Yet, if all men had followed the manners of the Egyptians, the world had certainly been made desolate as to mankind, but had been filled full of the wildest sort of brute beasts, which, because they suppose them to be gods, they carefully nourish. However, if any one should ask Apion, which of the Egyptians he thinks to be the most wise and most pious of them all, he would certainly acknowledge the priests to be so; for the histories say, that two things were originally committed to their care by their kings' injunctions, the worship of the gods, and the support of wisdom and philosophy. Accordingly, these priests are all circumcised, and abstain from swine's flesh; nor does any one of the other Egyptians assist them in slaying those sacrifices they offer to the gods. Apion was therefore quite blinded in his mind, when, for the sake of the Egyptians, he contrived to reproach us, and to accuse such others as not only make use of that conduct of life which he so much abuses, but have also taught other men to be circumcised, as says Herodotus, which makes me think that Apion is hereby justly punished for his casting such reproaches on the laws of his own country; for he was circumcised himself of necessity, on account of an ulcer in his privy member; and, when he received no benefit

by such circumcision, but his member became putrid he died in great torment. Now men of good tempers ought to observe their own laws concerning religion accurately, and to persevere therein, but not presently to abuse the laws of other nations, while this Apion deserted his own laws, and told lies about ours. And this was the end of Apion's life, and this shall be the conclusion of our discourse about him.

15. But now, since Appollonius Molo, and Lysimachus, and some others write treatises about our law-giver Moses, and about our laws which are neither just nor true, and this partly out of ignorance, but chiefly out of ill-will to us, while they calumniate Moses as an impostor and deceiver and pretend that our laws teach us wickedness, but nothing that is virtuous; I have a mind to discourse briefly according to my ability, about our whole constitution of government, and about the particular branches of it. For I suppose it will thence become evident that the laws we have given us are disposed after the best manner for the advancement of piety, for mutual communion with one another, for a general love of mankind as also for justice, and for sustaining labours with fortitude, and for a contempt of death. And I beg of those that shall peruse this writing of mine to read it without partiality; for it is not my purpose to write an encomium upon ourselves, but I shall esteem this as a most just apology for us, and taken from those our laws, according to which we lead our lives, against the many and the lying objections that have been made against us. Moreover, since this Appollonius does not do like Apion, and lay a continued accusation against us, but does it only by starts, and up and down his discourse, while he sometimes reproaches us as atheists, and man-haters, and sometimes hits us in the teeth with our want of courage, and yet sometimes on the contrary, accuses us of two great boldness, and madness in our conduct: nay, he says, that we are the weakest of all the barbarians, and that this is the reason why we are the only people which have made no improvements in human life. Now, I think, I shall have then sufficiently disproved all these his allegations, when it shall appear that our laws enjoin the very reverse of what he says, and that we very carefully observe those laws ourselves. And if I be compelled to make mention of the laws of other nations, that are contrary to ours, those ought deservedly to thank themselves for it, who have pre-

tended to depreciate our laws in comparison of their own ; nor will there, I think, be any room after that for them to pretend, either that we have no such laws ourselves, an epitome of which I will present to the reader, or that we do not, above all men, continue in the observation of them.

16. To begin, then, a good way backward ; I would advance this in the first place, that those who have been admirers of good order, and of living under common laws, and who began to introduce them, may well have this testimony, that they are better than other men, both for moderation, and such virtue as is agreeable to nature. Indeed, their endeavour was to have every thing they ordained believed to be very ancient, that they might not be thought to imitate others, but might appear to have delivered a regular way of living to others after them. Since then, this is the case, the excellency of a legislator is seen in providing for the people's living after the best manner, and prevailing with those that are to use the laws he ordains for them, to have a good opinion of them, and in obliging the multitude to persevere in them, and to make no changes in them, neither in prosperity nor adversity. Now I venture to say, that our legislator is the most ancient of all the legislators whom we have any where heard of ; for, as for the Lycurguses and Solons, and Zaleucus Locrensis, and all those legislators which are so admired by the Greeks, they seem to be of yesterday, if compared with our legislator, inso-much that the very name of a law was not so much as known in old times among the Grecians. Homer is a witness to the truth of this observation, who never uses that term in all his poems ; for indeed there was then no such thing among them, but the multitude was governed by wise maxims and by the injunctions of their king. It was also a long time \* that they continued in the use of these unwritten customs, although they were always changing them upon several occasions. But for our legislator who was of so much greater antiquity than the rest (as even those that speak against us upon all occasions do always confess), he exhibited himself to the people as their best governor and counselor, and included in his legislation the entire conduct of their lives and prevailed with them to receive it, and brought it

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\* *Viz.* After the greatest part of the world had left off their obedience to God, their original legislator. See Scripture Politics, page 6. 7.



so to pass, that those that were made acquainted with his laws, did most carefully observe them.

17. But let us consider his first and greatest work: for when it was resolved on by our forefathers to leave Egypt and return to their own country, this Moses took the many ten thousands that were of the people, and saved them out of many desperate distresses and brought them home in safety. And certainly it was here necessary to travel over a country without water, and full of sand, to overcome their enemies, and during these battles, to preserve their children and their wives, and their prey: on all which occasions he became an excellent general of an army, and a most prudent counsellor, and one that took the truest care of them all; he also so brought it about, that the whole multitude depended upon him. And while he had them always obedient to what he enjoined, he made no manner of use of his authority for his own private advantage, which is the usual time when governors gain great powers to themselves, and pave the way for tyranny, and accustom the multitude to live very dissolutely: whereas, when our legislator was in so great authority, he, on the contrary, thought he ought to have a regard to piety, and to shew his great good will to the people; and, by this means, he thought he might shew the great degree of virtue that was in him, and might procure the most lasting security to those who had made him their governor. When he had therefore come to such a good resolution, and had performed such wonderful exploits, we had just reason to look upon ourselves as having him for a divine governor and counsellor. And when he had first\* persuaded himself that his actions and designs were agreeable to God's will, he thought it his duty to imprint, above all things, that notion upon

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\* This language, that Moses *πεισας σαυτον*, persuaded himself that what he did was according to God's will, can mean no more by Josephus's own constant notions elsewhere, than what he was *firmly persuaded*, that he had *fully satisfied himself*, that so it was, *vis.* by the many revelations he had received from God, and the numerous miracles God had enabled him to work, as he both in these very two books against Apion, and in his Antiquities most clearly and frequently assures us. This is farther evident from several passages lower, where he affirms, that Moses was no impostor nor deceiver, and where he assures us that Moses's constitution of government was no other than a Theocracy; and where he says, they are to hope for deliverance out of their distresses by prayer to God, and that withall it was owing in part to this prophetic spirit of Moses, that the Jews expected a resurrection from the dead. See almost as strange an use of the like words *πεισεν τον Θεον*, to persuade God. Antiq. B. vi. ch. v. § 6. vol. ii.

the multitude; for those who have once believed that God is the inspector of their lives, will not permit themselves in any sin. And this is the character of our legislator, he was no impostor, no deceiver, as his revilers say, though unjustly, but such an one as they brag Minos \* to have been among the Greeks, and other legislators after him; for some of them suppose that they had their laws from Jupiter, while Minos said, that the revelation of his laws was to be referred to Apollo, and his oracle at Delphi, whether they really thought they were so derived, or supposed however, that they could persuade the people easily that so it was. But which of these it was who made the best laws, and which had the greatest reason to believe that God was their author, it will be easy, upon comparing those laws themselves together, to determine; for it is time that we come to that point [] †. Now there are innumerable differences in the particular customs and laws that are among all mankind, which a man may briefly reduce under the following heads: Some legislators have permitted their governments to be under monarchies, others put them under oligarchies, and others under a republican form; but our legislator had no regard to any of these forms, but he ordained our government to be, what, by a strained expression, may be termed a *Theocracy*, ‡ by ascribing the authority and the power to God, and by persuading all the people to have a

\* That is, Moses really was, what the heathen legislators pretended to be, under a divine direction; nor does it yet appear that these pretensions to a supernatural conduct, either in these legislators or oracles, were mere delusions of men, without any demonical impressions, nor that Josephus took them so to be, as the ancientest and contemporary authors did still believe them to be supernatural.

† This whole very large passage from [] to \*\*, is corrected by Dr. Hudson, from Eusebius's citation of it, *Præp. Evangel. viii. 8.* which is here not a little different from the present MSS. of Josephus.

‡ This expression itself, *Θεοκρατίαν ἀπέδειξε το πολιτευμα*, That Moses ordained the Jewish government to be a *Theocracy*, may be illustrated by that parallel expression in the antiquities, B. iii. ch. viii. § 9. vol. i. That, "Moses left it to God to be present at his sacrifices when he pleased, and when he pleased to be absent." Both ways of speaking sound harsh in the ears of Jews and Christians, as do several other which Josephus uses to the heathens; but still they were not very improper in him, when he all along thought fit to accommodate himself, both in his antiquities, and in these his books against Apion, all written for the use of the Greeks and Romans, to their notions and language, and this as far as ever truth would give him leave. Though it be very observable withall, that he never uses such expressions in his books of the War, written originally for the Jews beyond Euphrates, and in their language, in all these cases. However, Josephus directly supposes the Jewish settlement, under Moses, to be a divine settlement, and indeed no other than a real *Theocracy*.

regard to him, as the author of all the good things that were enjoyed either in common by all mankind, or by each one in particular, and of all that they themselves obtained, by praying to him in their greatest difficulties. He informed them, that it was impossible to escape God's observation, even in any of our outward actions, or in any of our inward thoughts. Moreover, he represented God \* as unbegotten, and immutable, through all eternity, superior to all mortal conceptions in pulchritude; and, though known to us by his power, yet unknown to us as to his essence. I do not now explain how these notions of God are the sentiments of the wisest among the Grecians, and how they were taught them upon the principals that he afforded them. However, they testify, with great assurance that these notions are just, and agreeable to the nature of God, and to his majesty: for Pythagoras, and Anaxagoras, and Plato, and the stoic philosophers that succeeded them, and almost all the rest are of the same sentiments, and had the same notions of the nature of God; yet durst not, these men disclose those true motives to more than a few, because the body of the people were prejudiced with other opinions beforehand. But our legislator, who made his actions agree to his laws, did not only prevail with those that were his contemporaries to agree with these his notions, but so firmly imprinted this faith in God upon all their posterity, that it never could be removed. The reason why the constitution of this legislation was ever better directed to the utility of all, than other legislations were, is this, that Moses did not make religion a part of virtue, but he

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\* These excellent accounts of the divine attributes, and that God is not to be at all known in his essence, as also some other clear expressions about the resurrection of the dead, and the state of departed souls, &c. in this late work of Josephus's looks more like the exalted notions of the Essens, or rather Ebionite Christians, than of a mere Jew or Pharisee. The following large accounts also of the laws of Moses, seem to me to shew a regard to the higher interpretations and improvements of Moses's laws, derived from Jesus Christ, than to the bare letter of them in the Old Testament, whence alone Josephus took them when he wrote his Antiquities: nor, as I think, can some of those laws, though generally excellent in their kind, be properly now found either in the copies of the Jewish Pentateuch, or in Philo, or in Josephus himself, before he became a Nazarene or Ebionite Christian, nor even all of them among the laws of the Catholic Christianity themselves. I desire, therefore, the learned reader to consider, whether some of these improvements or interpretations might not be peculiar to the Essens among the Jews, or rather to the Nazarenes or Ebionites among the Christians: though we have indeed but imperfect accounts if those Nazarenes or Ebionite Christians transmitted down to us at this day.

saw, and he ordained other virtues to be parts of religion ; I mean justice, and fortitude, and temperance, and an universal agreement of the members of the community with one another : for all our actions and studies, and all our words in [Moses' settlement,] have a reference to piety towards God : for he hath left none of these in suspense, or undetermined. For there are two ways of coming at any sort of learning, and a moral conduct of life ; the one is by instruction in words, the other by practical exercises. Now, other law-givers have separated these two ways in their opinions, and choosing one of those ways of instruction, or that which best pleased every one of them, neglected the other. Thus did the Lacedemonians, and the Grecians teach by practical exercises, but not by words ; while the Athenians and almost all the other Grecians, made laws about what was to be done, or left undone, but had no regard to the exercising them thereto in practice.

18. But for our legislator, he very carefully joined these two methods of instruction together ; for he neither left these practical exercises to go on without verbal instruction, nor did he permit the hearing of the law to proceed without the exercises for practice ; but beginning immediately from the earliest infancy, and the appointment of every one's diet, he left nothing of the very smallest consequence to be done at the pleasure and disposal of the person himself ; accordingly, he made a fixed rule of law, what sorts of food they should abstain from, and what sorts they should make use of, as also what communion they should have with others ; what great diligence they should use in their occupations, and what times of rest should be interposed ; that, by living under that law as under a father and a master, we might be guilty of no sin, neither voluntary nor out of ignorance ; for he did not suffer the guilt of ignorance to go on without punishment, but demonstrated the law to be the best and the most necessary instruction of all others, permitting the people to leave off their other employments, and to assemble together for the hearing of the law, and learning it exactly, and this not once or twice, or oftener, but every week, which thing all the other legislators seem to have neglected.

19. And indeed, the greatest part of mankind are so far from living according to their own laws, that they hardly know them ; but when they have sinned, they learn from

others that they have transgressed the law.—Those also who are in the highest and principal posts of the government confess, they are not acquainted with those laws, and are obliged to take such persons for their assessors in public administrations as profess to have skill in those laws: but, for our people, if any body do but ask any one of them about our laws, he will more readily tell them all than he will tell his own name, and this in consequence of our having learned them immediately as soon as ever we became sensible of any thing, and of our having them as it were engraven on our souls. Our transgressors of them are but few, and it is impossible, when any do offend, to escape punishment.

20. And this very thing it is that principally creates such a wonderful agreement of mindst amongst us all; for this entire agreement of ours in all our notions concerning God, and our having no difference in our course of life and manners, procures among us the most excellent concord of these our manners that is any where among mankind: for no other people but we Jews have avoided all discourses about God that any way contradict one another, which yet are frequent among other nations; and this is true not only among ordinary persons, according as every one is affected, but some of the philosophers have been insolent enough to indulge such contradictions, while some of them have undertaken to use such words as entirely take away the nature of God, as others of them have taken away his providence over mankind. Nor can any one perceive amongst us any difference in the conduct of our lives, but all our works are common to us all.—We have one sort of discourse concerning God, which is conformable to our law, and affirms that he sees all things, as also we have but one way of speaking concerning the conduct of our lives, that all other things ought to have piety for their end; and this any body may hear from our women, and servants themselves.

21. And indeed, hence hath arisen that accusation which some make against us, that we have not produced men that have been the inventors of new operations, or of new ways of speaking; for others think it a fine thing to persevere in nothing that has been delivered down from their forefathers, and these testify it to be an instance of the sharpest wisdom when these men venture to transgress

those traditions ; whereas we, on the contrary, suppose it to be our only wisdom and virtue to admit no actions nor supposals that are contrary to our original laws ; which procedure of ours is a just and sure sign that our law is admirably constituted ; for such laws as are not thus well made, are convicted upon trial to want amendment.

22. But while we are ourselves persuaded, that our law was made agreeably to the will of God, it would be impious for us not to observe the same ; for what is there in it that any body would change ? and what can be invented that is better ? or what can we take out of other people's laws that will exceed it ? Perhaps some would have the entire settlement of our government altered.—And where shall we find a better or more righteous constitution than ours, while this makes us esteem God to be the Governor of the universe, and permits the priests in general to be the administrators of the principal affairs, and withall intrusts the government over the other priests to the chief high-priest himself : which priests our legislator, at their first appointment did not advance to that dignity for their riches, or any abundance of other possessions, or any plenty they had, as the gifts of fortune ; but he intrusted the principal management of divine worship to those that exceeded others in an ability to persuade men and in prudence of conduct. These men had the main care of the law, and of the other parts of the people's conduct committed to them ; for they were the priests who were ordained to be the inspectors of all, and the judges in doubtful cases, and the punishers of those that were condemned to suffer punishment.

23. What form of government than can be more holy than this ? What more worthy kind of worship can be paid to God than we pay, where the entire body of the people are prepared for religion, where an extraordinary degree of care is required in the priests, and where the whole polity is so ordered as if it were a certain religious solemnity ? For what things foreigners, when they solemnize such festivals, are not able to observe for a few days time, and call them *mysteries* and *sacred ceremonies*, we observe with great pleasure and an unshaken resolution during our whole lives. What are the things then that we are commanded or forbidden ? They are simply and easily known. The first command is concerning God, and affirms that

God contains all things, and is a being every way perfect and happy, self-sufficient, and supplying all other beings; the beginning, the middle, and the end of all things. He is manifest in his works and benefits, and more conspicuous than any other being whatsoever; but as to his form and magnitude he is most obscure. All materials, let them be ever so costly, are unworthy to compose an image for him, and all arts are unartful to express the notion we ought to have of him. We can neither see nor think of any thing like him, nor is it agreeable to piety to form a resemblance of him. We see his works, the light, the heaven, the earth, the sun and the moon, the waters, the generations of animals, the productions of fruits. These things hath God made, not with hands, not with labour, nor as wanting the assistance of any to co-operate with him; but as his will resolved they should be made and be good also, they were made, and became good immediately. All men ought to follow this being, and to worship him in the exercise of virtue; for this way of worship of God is the most holy of all others.

24. There ought also to be but One Temple for One God; for likeness is the constant foundation of agreement. This temple ought to be common to all men, because he is the common God of all men. His priests are to be continually about his worship, over whom he that is the first by his birth is to be their ruler perpetually. His business must be to offer sacrifices to God, together with those priests that are joined with him, to see that the laws be observed, to determine controversies, and to punish those that are convicted of injustice; while he that does not submit to him shall be subject to the same punishment, as if he had been guilty of impiety towards God himself. When we offer sacrifices to him we do it not in order to surfeit ourselves, or to be drunken; for such excesses are against the will of God, and would be an occasion of injuries, and of luxury; but by keeping ourselves sober, orderly, and ready for our other occupations, and being more temperate than others. And for our duty at the sacrifices themselves, we ought, in the first place, to pray \* for the common wel-

\* We may here observe how known a thing it was among the Jews and heathens, in this and many other instances, that sacrifices were still accompanied with prayers; whence most probably came those phrases of the sacrifice of prayer, the sacrifice of praise, the sacrifice of thanksgiving. However

fare of all, and after that for our own; for we are made for fellowship one with another, and he who prefers the common good before what is peculiar to himself is above all acceptable to God. And let our prayers and supplications be made humbly to God, not [so much] that he would give us what is good, (for he hath already given that of his own accord, and hath proposed the same publicly to all,) as that we may duly receive it, and when we have received it may preserve it. Now the law has appointed several purifications at our sacrifices, whereby we are cleansed after a funeral, after what sometimes happens to us in bed, and after accompanying with our wives, and upon many other occasions which it would be too long now to set down.—And this is our doctrine concerning God and his worship, and is the same that the law appoints for our practice.

25. But then, what are our laws about marriage? That law owns no other mixture of sexes but that which nature hath appointed of a man with his wife, and that this be used only for the procreation of children. But it abhors the mixture of a male with a male; and if any one do that, death is its punishment. It commands us also, when we marry, not to have regard to a portion, nor to take a woman by violence, nor to persuade her deceitfully and knavishly, but to demand her in marriage of him who hath power to dispose of her, and is fit to give her away by the nearness of his kindred; for, says the Scripture. *A woman is inferior to her husband in all things.\** Let her, therefore, be obedient to him; not so, that he should abuse her, but that she may acknowledge her duty to her husband; for God hath given the authority to the husband. An husband, therefore, is to lie only with his wife whom he hath married; but to have to do with another man's wife is a wicked thing, which, if any ventures upon, death is inevitably his punishment: no more can he avoid the same who forces a virgin betrothed to another man, or entices another

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er, those ancient forms used at sacrifices are now generally lost to the small damage of true religion. It is here also exceeding remarkable, that although the temple at Jerusalem was built as the only place where the whole nation of the Jews were to offer their sacrifices, yet is there no mention of the *sacrifices* themselves, but of *prayers* only. in Solomon's long and famous form of devotion at its dedication, 1 Kings viii. 2 Chron. vi. See also many passages cited in the Apostolical Constitutions, vii. 37. and of the War above, B. vii. ch. v. § 6. vol. vi.

\* This text is so where in our present copies of the Old Testament.



man's wife. The law moreover, enjoins us to bring up all our offspring, and forbids women to cause abortion of what is begotten or to destroy it afterward ; and if any woman appears to have so done, she will be a murderer of her child by destroying a living creature, and diminishing human kind : if any one, therefore, proceeds to such fornication or murder, he cannot be clean. Moreover, the law enjoins, that after the man and wife have lain together in a regular way, they shall bathe themselves ; for there is a defilement contracted thereby both in soul and body as if they had gone into another country ; for indeed the soul, by being united to the body, is subject to miseries, and is not freed therefrom again but by death ; on which account the law requires this purification to be entirely performed.

26. Nay indeed, the law does not permit us to make festivals at the births of our children, and thereby afford occasion of drinking to excess ; but it ordains, that the very beginning of our education should be immediately directed to sobriety. It also commands us to bring those children up in learning, and to exercise them in the laws, and to make them acquainted with the acts of their predecessors, in order to their imitation of them, and that they might be nourished up in the laws from their infancy, and might neither transgress them, nor have any pretence for their ignorance of them.

27. Our law hath also taken care of the decent burial of the dead, but without any extravagant expenses for their funerals, and without the erection of any illustrious monuments for them ; but hath ordered that their nearest relations should perform their obsequies and hath shewed it to be regular, that all who pass by when any one is buried should accompany the funeral, and join in the lamentation. It also ordains, that the house and its inhabitants should be purified after the funeral is over, that every one may thence learn to keep at a great distance from the thoughts of being pure, if he hath been once guilty of murder.

28. The law ordains also, that parents should be honoured immediately after God himself, and delivers that son who does not requite them for the benefits he hath received from them, but is deficient on any such occasion, to be stoned. It also says that the young men should pay due respect to every elder, since God is the eldest of all beings. It does not give leave to conceal any thing from our friends,

because that is not true friendship which will not commit all things to their fidelity, it also forbids the revelation of secrets, even though an enmity arise between them. If any judge takes bribes, his punishment is death; he that overlooks one that offers him a petition, and this when he is able to relieve him, he is a guilty person. What is not by any one entrusted to another, ought not to be required back again. No one is to touch another's goods. He that lends money must not demand usury for its loan. These and many more of the like sort are the rules that unite us in the bands of society one with another.

29. It will be also worth our while to see, what equity our legislator would have us exercise in our intercourse with strangers; for it will thence appear, that he made the best provision he possibly could both that we should not dissolve our own constitution, nor shew any envious mind towards those that would cultivate a friendship with us. Accordingly our legislator admits all those that have a mind to observe our laws so to do, and this after a friendly manner, as esteeming that a true union, which not only extends to our own stock, but to those that would live after the same manner with us: yet does he not allow those that come to us by accident only, to be admitted into communion with us.

30. However, there are other things which our legislator ordained for us beforehand, which of necessity we ought to do in common to all men; as to afford fire, and water, and food to such as want it; to shew them the roads; nor to let any one lie unburied. He also would have us treat those that are esteemed our enemies with moderation; for he doth not allow us to set their country on fire, nor permit us to cut down those trees that bear fruit; nay farther, he forbids us to spoil those that have been slain in war. He hath also provided for such as are taken captive, that they may not be injured, and especially that the women may not be abused. Indeed, he hath taught us gentleness and humanity so effectually, that he hath not despised the care of brute beasts, by permitting no other than a regular use of them, and forbidding any other; and if any of them come to our houses, like supplicants, we are forbidden to slay them: nor may we kill the dams, together with their young ones; but we are obliged, even in an enemy's country, to spare and not kill those creatures that

labour for mankind. Thus hath our lawgiver contrived to teach us an equitable conduct every way, by using us to such laws as instruct us therein ; while at the same time he hath ordained, that such as brake these laws should be punished, without the allowance of any excuse whatsoever.

31. Now the greatest part of offences with us are capital ; as if any one be guilty of adultery ; if any one force a virgin ; if any one be so impudent as to attempt sodomy with a male, or if, upon another's making an attempt upon him, he submits to be so used. There is also a law for slaves of the like nature that can never be avoided. Moreover, if any one cheats another in measures or weights, or makes a knavish bargain and sale, in order to cheat another ; if any one steal what belongs to another, and takes what he never deposited, all these have punishments allotted them ; nor such as are met with among other nations, but more severe ones. And as for attempts of unjust behaviour towards parents, or for impiety against God, though they be not actually accomplished, the offenders are destroyed immediately. However, the reward for such as live exactly according to the laws, is not silver or gold ; it is not a garland of olive branches or of smallage, nor any such public sign of commendation ; but every good man hath his own conscience bearing witness to himself, and by virtue of our legislator's prophetic spirit, and of the firm security God himself affords such an one, he believes that God hath made this grant to those that observe these laws, even though they be obliged readily to die for them, that they shall come into being again, and at a certain revolution of things shall receive a better life than they had enjoyed before. Nor would I venture to write thus at this time were it not well known to all by their actions, that many of our people have many a time bravely resolved to endure any sufferings, rather than speak one word against our law.

32. Nay indeed, in case it had so fallen out, that our nation had not been so thoroughly known among all men as they are, and our voluntary submission to our laws had not been so open and manifest as it is, but that some body had pretended to have written these laws himself, and had read them to the Greeks, or had pretended that he had met with men out of the limits of the known world, that had such reverent notions of God, and had continued a long time in the firm observance of such laws as ours, I cannot

but suppose that all men would admire them, on the reflection upon the frequent changes they had therein been themselves subject to; and this while those that have attempted to write somewhat of the same kind for politic government, and for laws are accused as composing monstrous things, and are said to have undertaken an impossible task upon them. And here I will say nothing of those other philosophers who have undertaken any thing of this nature in their writings. But even Plato himself who is so admired by the Greeks on account of that gravity in his manners, and force in his words, and that ability he had to persuade men beyond all other philosophers, is little better than laughed at and exposed to ridicule on that account, by those that pretend to sagacity in political affairs: although he that shall diligently peruse his writings, will find his precepts to be somewhat gentle, and pretty near to the customs of the generality of mankind. Nay, Plato himself confesseth, that it is not safe to publish the true notion concerning God among the ignorant multitude. Yet do some men look upon Plato's discourses as no better than certain idle words set off with great artifice. However, they admire Lycurgus as the principal lawgiver and all men celebrate Sparta for having continued in the firm observance of his laws for a very long time. So far then we have gained, that it is to be confessed a mark of virtue to submit to laws.\* But, then let such as admire this in the Lacedemonians, compare that duration of theirs with more than two thousand years which our political government hath continued; and let them farther consider, that, though the Lacedemonians did seem to observe their laws exactly, while they enjoyed their liberty, yet that when they underwent a change of their fortune they forgot almost all those laws; while we having been under ten thousand changes in our fortune, by the changes that happened among the kings of Asia, we have never betrayed our laws under the most pressing distresses we have been in; nor have we neglected them either out of sloth or for a livelihood.† Nay, if any one

\* It may not be amiss to set down here a very remarkable testimony of the great philosopher Cicero, as to the preference of *laws* to *philosophy*: "I will," says he, "boldly declare my opinion, though the whole world be offended at it. I prefer this little book of the Twelve Tables alone to all the volumes of the philosophers. I find it to be not only of more weight, but also much more useful." *De Oratore*.

† Or, We have observed our times of rest, and sorts of food allowed us, [during our distresses.]

will consider it, the difficulties and labours laid upon us have been greater than what appears to have been borne by the Lacedemonian fortitude, while they neither ploughed their land, nor exercised any trades, but lived in their own city, free from all such pains taking, in the enjoyment of plenty, and using such exercises as might improve their bodies, while they made use of other men as their servants for all the necessaries of life, and had their food prepared for them by the others; and these good and human actions they do for no other purpose but this, that by their actions and their sufferings they may be able to conquer all those against whom they make war. I need not add this, that they have not been fully able to observe their laws; for not only a few single persons, but multitudes of them have in heaps neglected those laws, and have delivered themselves, together with their arms, into the hands of their enemies.

33. Now, as for ourselves, I venture to say, that no one can tell of so many, nay, not more than one or two that have betrayed our laws, no not out of fear of death itself; I do not mean such an easy death as happens in battles, but that which comes with bodily torments, and seems to be the severest kind of death of all others. Now I think those that have conquered us have put us to such deaths, not out of their hatred to us when they had subdued us, but rather out of their desire of seeing a surprising sight, which is this, whether there be such men in the world who believe that no evil is to them so great as to be compelled to do or to speak any thing contrary to their own laws! Nor ought men to wonder at us, if we are more courageous in dying for our laws than all other men are; for other men do not easily submit to the easier things in which we are instituted; I mean working with our hands, and eating but little, and being contented to eat and drink not at random, or at every one's pleasure, or being under inviolable rules in lying with our wives in magnificent furniture, and again in the observation of our times of rest; while those that can use their swords in war, and can put their enemies to flight when they attack them, cannot bear to submit to such laws about their way of living: whereas our being accustomed willingly to submit to laws in these instances, renders us fit to shew our fortitude upon other occasions also.

34. Yet do the Lysimachi and the Molones, and some

other writers, (unskilful sophists as they are), and the deceivers of young men, reproach us as the vilest of all mankind. Now I have no mind to make an inquiry into the laws of other nations; for the custom of our country is to keep our own laws, but not to bring accusations against the laws of others. And indeed our legislator hath expressly forbidden us to laugh at and revile those that are esteemed gods by other people,\* on account of the very name of *God* ascribed to them. But since our antagonists think to run us down upon the comparison of their religion and ours, it is not possible to keep silence here, especially while what I shall say to confute these men will not be now first said, but hath been already said by many, and these of the highest reputation also: for who is there among those that have been admired among the Greeks for wisdom, who hath not greatly blamed both the most famous poets and most celebrated legislators for spreading such notions originally among the body of the people concerning the gods? such as these, that they may be allowed to be as numerous as they have a mind to have them; that they are begotten one by another, and that after all the kinds of generation you can imagine. They also distinguish them in their places and ways of living, as they would distinguish several sorts of animals: as some to be under the earth; as some to be in the sea; and the ancientest of them all to be bound in hell; and for those to whom they have allotted heaven, they have set over them one, who in title is their father, but in his actions a tyrant and a lord; whence it came to pass that his wife, and brother, and daughter, (which daughter he brought forth from his own head), made a conspiracy against him to seize upon him and confine him, as he had himself seized upon and confined his own father before.

35. And justly have the wisest men thought these notions deserved severe rebukes; they also laugh at them for determining that we ought to believe some of the gods to be beardless and young, and others of them to be old, and to have beards accordingly: that some are set to trades; that one god is a smith, and another goddess is a weaver; that one god is a warrior, and fights with men; that some of them are harpers, or delight in

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\* See Antiq. B. iv. ch. viii. § 10. vol. 1. and its note.

archery; and besides, that mutual seditions arise among them, and that they quarrel about men, and this so far, that they not only lay hands upon one another, but that they are wounded by men, and lament, and take on for such their afflictions. But what is the grossest of all in point of lasciviousness, are those unbounded lusts ascribed to almost all of them, and their amours; which how can it be other than a most absurd supposal, especially when it reaches to the male gods, and to the female goddesses also. Moreover, the chief of all their gods, and their first father himself, overlooks those goddesses whom he had deluded and begotten with child, and suffers them to be kept in prison, or drowned in the sea. He is also so bound up by fate, that he cannot save his own offspring, nor can he bear their deaths without shedding of tears. These are fine things indeed! as are the rest that follow. Adulteries truly are so impudently looked on in heaven by the gods, but some of them have confessed they envied those that were bound in the very act. And why should they not do so, when the eldest of them, who is their king also, hath not been able to restrain himself, in the violence of his lust, from lying with his wife so long as they might get into their bedchamber. Now some of the gods are servants to men, and will sometimes be builders for a reward, and sometimes will be shepherds; while others of them, like malefactors, are bound in a prison of brass. And what sober person is there who would not be provoked at such stories, and rebuke those that forged them, and condemn the great silliness of those that admit them for true? Nay others there are that have advanced a certain timorousness and fear, as also madness and fraud, and any other of the vilest passions into the nature and form of gods, and have persuaded whole cities to offer sacrifice to the better sort of them; on which account they have been absolutely forced to esteem some gods as the givers of good things, and to call others of them averters of evil. They also endeavour to move them, as they would the vilest of men, by gifts and presents, as looking for nothing else than to receive some great mischief from them, unless they pay them such wages.

36. Wherefore it deserves our inquiry, what should be the occasion of this unjust management, and of these scandals about the Deity? And truly I suppose it to be deri-

ved from the imperfect knowledge the heathen legislators had at first of the true nature of God; nor did they explain to the people even so far as they did comprehend of it; nor did they compose the other parts of their political settlements according to it, but omitted it as a thing of very little consequence, and gave leave both to the poets to introduce what gods they pleased, and those subject to all sorts of passions, and to the orators to procure political decrees from the people for the admission of such foreign gods as they thought proper. The painters also and the staturiers of Greece had herein great power, as each of them could contrive a shape [proper for a god]; the one to be formed out of clay, and the other by making a bare picture of such a one. But those workmen that were principally admired had the use of ivory and of gold as the constant materials for their new statues; [whereby it comes to pass, that some temples are quite deserted, while others are in great esteem, and adorned with all the rites of all kinds of purification.] Besides this, the first gods, who have long flourished in the honours done them, are now grown old, [while those that flourished after them are come in their room as a second rank, that I may speak the most honourably of them that I can]: nay, certain other gods there are who are newly introduced, and newly worshipped, [as we by way of digression have said already, and yet have left their places of worship desolate;] and for their temples, some of them are already left desolate, and others are built anew, according to the pleasure of men: whereas they ought to have preserved their opinion about God and that worship which is due to him, always and immutably the same.

37. But now, this Apollonius Molo was one of these foolish and proud men. However, nothing that I have said was unknown to those that were real philosophers among the Greeks, nor were they unacquainted with those frigid pretences of allegories, [which had been alledged for such things;] on which account they justly despised them, but have still agreed with us as to the true and becoming notions of God; whence it was that Plato would not have political settlements admit of any one of the other poets, and dismisses even Homer himself, with a garland on his head, and with ointment poured upon him, and this because he should not destroy the right notions of God with his fables. Nay,



Plato principally imitated our legislator in this point, that he enjoined his citizens to have the main regard to this precept, That every one of them should learn their laws accurately. He also ordained, that they should not admit of foreigners intermixing with their own people at random ; and provided that the commonwealth should keep itself pure, and consist of such only as persevered in their own laws. Apollonius Molo did no way consider this, when he made it one branch of his accusation against us, that we do not admit of such as have different notions about God, nor will we have fellowship with those that choose to observe a way of living different from ourselves ; yet is not this method peculiar to us, but common to all other men ; not among the ordinary Grecians only, but among such of those Grecians as are of the greatest reputation among them. Moreover, the Lacedemonians continued in their way of expelling foreigners, and would not indeed give leave to their own people to travel abroad, as suspecting that those two things would introduce a dissolution of their own laws : and perhaps there may be some reason to blame the rigid severity of the Lacedemonians, for they bestowed the privilege of their city on no foreigners, nor indeed would give leave to them to stay among them : whereas we, though we do not think fit to imitate other institutions, yet do we willingly admit of those that desire to partake of ours, which, I think, I may reckon to be a plain indication of our humanity, and at the same time of our magnanimity also.

38. But I shall say no more of the Lacedemonians. As for the Athenians, who glory in having made their city to be common to all men, what their behaviour was, Apollonius did not know, while they punished those that did but speak one word contrary to their laws about the gods, without any mercy : for on what other account was it that Socrates was put to death by them ! For certainly he neither betrayed their city to its enemies, nor was he guilty of any sacrilege, with regard to any of their temples ; but it was on this account, that he swore certain new oaths,\* and that he affirmed either in earnest or as some say, only in

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\* See what these novel oaths were in Dr. Hudson's note, *viz.* To swear by an *oak*, by a *goat*, and by a *dog*, as also by a *gander*, as says Philostratus and others. This swearing strange oaths was also forbidden by the Tyrians, B. i. § 22, vol. i. as Spanheim here notes.

jest, that a certain demon used to make signs to him [what he should not do.] For these reasons he was condemned to drink poison, and kill himself. His accuser also complained, that he corrupted the young men, by inducing them to despise the political settlement, and laws of their city; and thus was Socrates the citizen of Athens, punished. There was also Anaxagoras, who, although he was of Clazomenae, was within a few suffrages of being condemned to die, because he said the sun, which the Athenians thought to be a god, was a ball of fire. They also made this public proclamation, That they would give a talent to any one who would kill Diagoras of Melos, because it was reported of him that he laughed at their mysteries: Protagoras also, who was thought to have written somewhat that was not owned for truth by the Athenians, about the gods, had been seized upon, and put to death, if he had not fled immediately away. Nor need we at all wonder that they thus treated such considerable men, when they did not spare even women also; for they very lately slew a certain priestess, because she was accused by somebody that she initiated people into the worship of strange gods, it having been forbidden so to do by one of their laws: and a capital punishment had been decreed to such as introduced a strange god; it being manifest, that they who make use of such a law, do not believe those of other nations to be really gods, otherwise they had not envied themselves the advantage of more gods than they already had. And this was the happy administration of the affairs of the Athenians! Now as to the Scythians, they take a pleasure in killing men and differ little from brute beasts, yet do they think it reasonable to have their institutions observed. They also slew Anacharsis, a person greatly admired for his wisdom among the Greeks, when he returned to them, because he appeared to come fraught with Grecian customs: one may also find many to have been punished among the Persians, on the very same account. And to be sure Apollonius was greatly pleased with the laws of the Persians, and was an admirer of them, because the Greeks enjoyed the advantage of their courage, and had the very same opinion about the gods which they had! This last was exemplified in the temples which they burnt, and their courage in coming, and almost entirely enslaving the Grecians. However, Apollonius has imitated all the Persian

institutions, and that by his offering violence to other men's wives, and castrating his own sons. Now with us it is a capital crime, if any one does thus abuse even a brute beast: and as for us, neither hath the fear of our governors, nor a desire of following what other nations have in so great esteem, been able to withdraw us from our own laws; nor have we exerted our courage in raising up wars to increase our wealth, but only for the observation of our laws; and when we with patience bear other losses, yet when any persons would compel us to break our laws, then it is that we choose to go to war, though it be beyond our ability to pursue it, and bear the greatest calamities to the last with much fortitude. And indeed, what reason can there be why we should desire to imitate the laws of other nations, while we see they are not observed by their own legislators; and why do not the Lacedemonians think of abolishing that form of their government, which suffers them not to associate with any others, as well as their contempt of matrimony? And why do not the Eleans and Thebans abolish that unnatural and impudent lust, which makes them lie with males? For they will not shew a sufficient sign of their repentance of what they of old thought to be very excellent, and very advantageous in their practices, unless they entirely avoid all such actions for the time to come: nay, such things are still inserted into the body of their laws, and had once such a power among the Greeks, that they ascribed these Sodomitical practices to the gods themselves, as a part of their good character: and indeed it was according to the same manner that the gods married their own sisters. This the Greeks contrived as an apology for their own absurd and unnatural pleasures.

39. I omit to speak concerning punishments, and how many ways of escaping them the greatest part of the legislators have afforded malefactors, by ordaining that for adulteries, fines in money should be allowed, and for corrupting \* [virgins] they need only marry them:† as also what

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\* Why Josephus here shall blame some heathen legislators, when they allowed so easy a composition for simple fornication, as an obligation to marry the virgin that was corrupted, is hard to say, seeing he had himself truly informed us, that it was a law of the Jews Antiq. B. iv. c. viii. § 23. vol. vi. as it is the law of Christianity also; see Horeb Covenant, page 61. I am almost ready to suspect, that for γαμος, we should read γαμιν, and that corrupting wedlock, or other men's wives, is the crime for which these heathens wickedly allowed this composition in money.

† Or for corrupting other men's wives the same allowance.

excuses they may have in denying the facts, if any one attempts to inquire into them; for amongst most other nations it is a studied art, how men may transgress their laws. But no such thing is permitted amongst us; for though we be deprived of our wealth, of our other cities, or of the other advantages we have, our law continues immortal: nor can any Jew go so far from his own country, nor be so affrighted at the severest lord, as not to be more affrighted at the law than at him. If, therefore, this be the disposition we are under, with regard to the excellency of our laws, let our enemies make us this concession, that our laws are most excellent; and if still they imagine, that though we so firmly adhere to them, yet are they bad laws notwithstanding, what penalties then do they deserve to undergo, who do not observe their own laws, which they esteem so far superior to them? Whereas, therefore, length of time is esteemed to be the truest touchstone in all cases, I would make that a testimonial of the excellency of our laws, and of that belief thereby delivered to us concerning God. For as there hath been a very long time for this comparison, if any one will but compare its duration with the duration of the laws made by other legislators, he will find our legislator to have been the ancientest of them all.

40. We have already demonstrated, that our laws have been such as have always inspired admiration and imitation in all other men; nay, the earliest Grecian philosophers, though in appearance they observed the laws of their own countries, yet did they, in their actions, and their philosophic doctrines, follow our legislator, and instructed men to live sparingly, and to have friendly communication one with another. Nay, farther, the multitude of mankind itself have had a great inclination of long time to follow our religious observances; for there is not any city of the Grecians, nor any of the Barbarians, nor any nation whatsoever, whither, our custom of resting on the seventh day hath not come, and by which our fasts, and lighting up lamps, and many of our prohibitions as to food, are not observed; they also endeavour to imitate our mutual concord with one another, and the charitable distribution of our goods, and our diligence in our trades, and our fortitude in undergoing the distresses we are in, on account of our laws; and, what is here matter of the greatest admiration, our law hath no bate of pleasure to allure men to it, but

it prevails by its own force ; and as God himself pervades all the world, so hath our law passed through all the world also. So that if any one will but reflect on his own country, and his own family, he will have reason to give credit to what I say. It is therefore but just, either to condemn all mankind of indulging a wicked disposition, when they have been so desirous of imitating laws that are to them foreign and evil in themselves, rather than following laws of their own that are of a better character, or else our accusers must leave off their spite against us. Nor are we guilty of any envious behaviour towards them, when we honour our own legislator, and believe what he, by his prophetic authority, hath taught us concerning God. For though we should not be able ourselves to understand the excellency of our own laws, yet would the great multitude of those that desire to imitate them justify us, in greatly valuing ourselves upon them.

41. But as for the [distinct] political laws by which we are governed, I have delivered them accurately in my books of Antiquities ; and have only mentioned them now so far as was necessary to my present purpose, without proposing to myself, either to blame the laws of other nations, or to make an encomium upon our own ; but in order to convict those that have written about us unjustly, and in an impudent affectation of disguising the truth. And now I think I have sufficiently completed what I proposed in writing these books. For whereas our accusers have pretended, that our nation are a people of a very late original, I have demonstrated that they are exceeding ancient ; for I have produced as witness thereto many ancient writers, who have made mention of us in their books, while they said that no such writer had so done. Moreover they had said, that we were sprung from Egyptians, while I have proved, that we came from another country into Egypt ; while they had told lies of us, as if we were expelled thence on account of diseases on our bodies, it has appeared on the contrary, that we returned to our own country by our own choice, and with sound and strong bodies. Those accusers reproached our legislator, as a vile fellow ; whereas God in old times bear witness to his virtuous conduct ; and since that testimony of God, time itself hath been discovered to have borne witness to the same thing.

42. As to the laws themselves, more words are unneces-

sary, for they are visible in their own nature, and appear to teach not impiety, but the truest piety in the world. They do not make men hate one another, but encourage people to communicate what they have to one another freely; they are enemies to injustice, they take care of righteousness, they banish idleness and expensive living, and instruct men to be content with what they have, and to be laborious in their callings; they forbid men to make war from a desire of getting more, but make men courageous in defending the laws: they are inexorable in punishing malefactors: they admit no sophistry of words, but are always established by actions themselves, which actions we ever propose as surer demonstrations than what is contained in writing only; on which account I am so bold as to say, that we are become the teachers of other men, in the greatest number of things, and those of the most excellent nature only: for what is more excellent than inviolable piety? what is more just than submission to laws? and what is more advantageous than mutual love and concord? And this so far, that we are to be neither divided by calamities, nor to become injurious and seditious in prosperity, but to condemn death when we are in war, and in peace to apply ourselves to our mechanical occupations, or to our tillage of the ground; while we in all things and always are satisfied that God is the inspector and governor of our actions. If these precepts had either been written at first or more exactly kept by any others before us, we should have owed them thanks as disciples owe to their masters: but if it be visible that we have made use of them more than any other men, and if we have demonstrated, that the original invention of them is our own, let the Apions, and the Molons, with all the rest of those that delight in lies and reproaches, stand confuted; but let this and the foregoing book be dedicated to thee, Epaphroditus, who are so great a lover of truth, and by thy means to those that have been in like manner desirous to be acquainted with the affairs of our nation.

# JOSEPHUS'S

## DISCOURSE TO THE GREEKS

### CONCERNING

### H A D E S.

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§ 1. Now as to Hades, wherein the souls of the righteous and unrighteous are detained, it is necessary to speak of it, Hades is a place in the world not regularly finished; a *subterraneous* region, wherein the light of this world does not shine; from which circumstance, that in this region the light does not shine, it cannot be but there must be in it perpetual *darkness*. This region is allotted as a place of custody for souls, in which angels are appointed as guardians to them, who distribute to them *temporary punishments*, agreeable to every one's behaviours and manners.

2. In this region there is a certain place set apart, as a *lake of unquenchable fire*; whereinto we suppose no one hath hitherto been cast, but it is prepared for a day afore determined by God, in which one righteous sentence shall deservedly be passed upon all men; when the unjust, and those that have been disobedient to God, and have given honour to such idols as have been the vain operations of the hands of men as to God himself, shall be adjudged to this *everlasting punishment*, as having been the causes of defilement; while the just shall obtain an *incorruptible* and never-fading *kingdom*. These are now indeed confined in Hades, but not in the same place wherein the unjust are confined.

3. For there is one descent into this region, at whose *gate* we believe their stands an archangel with an host; which *gate* when those pass through, that are conducted down by the angels appointed over souls, they do not go the same way, but the just are guided to the *right-hand*, and are

led with hymns, sung by the *angels* appointed over that place, unto a region of *light*, in which the just have dwelt from the beginning of the world : not constrained by necessity, but ever enjoying the prospect of the good things they see, and rejoicing in the expectation of those new enjoyments which will be peculiar to every one of them, and esteeming those things beyond what we have here : with whom there is no place of toil, no burning heat, no piercing cold, nor are any briers there ; but the countenance of the *fathers* and of the just, which they see, always smiles upon them, while they wait for that rest and *eternal* new life in *heaven*, which is to succeed this region. This place we call the *bosom of Abraham*.

4. But as to the unjust, they are dragged by force to the *left-hand* by the angels allotted for punishment, no longer going with a good-will, but as prisoners driven by violence ; to whom are sent the angels appointed over them to reproach them and threaten them with their terrible looks, and to thrust them still downward. Now those angels that are set over these souls drag them into the neighbourhood of hell itself ; who, when they are hard by it continually hear the noise of it, and do not stand clear of the hot vapour itself ; but when they have a near view of this spectacle, as of a terrible and exceeding great prospect of fire, they are struck with a fearful expectation of a future judgment, and in effect punished thereby : and not only so, but where they see the place [or choir] of the *fathers* and of the just, even hereby are they punished ; for a *chaos* deep and large is fixed between them ; insomuch that a just man that hath compassion upon them cannot be admitted, nor can one that is unjust, if he were bold enough to attempt it, pass over it.

5. This is the discourse concerning Hades, wherein the souls of all men are confined until a proper season, which God hath determined, when he will make a resurrection of all men from the dead ; not procuring a transmigration of souls from one body to another, but raising again those very bodies, which you Greeks seeing to be dissolved, do not believe [their resurrection.] But learn not to disbelieve it ; for while you believe that the soul is created and yet is made immortal by God, according to the doctrine of Plato, and this in time, be not incredulous, but believe that God is able, when he hath raised to life that body which was made



as a compound of the same elements to make it immortal; for it must never be said of God, that he is able to do some things, and unable to do others. We have therefore believed, that the body will be raised again; for although it be dissolved, it is not perished; for the earth receives its remains, and preserves them; and while they are like *seed*, and are mixed among the more fruitful soil, they flourish, and what is *sown* is indeed *sown bare grain*, but at the mighty sound of God the Creator, it will sprout up, and be raised in a *clothed* and *glorious* condition though not before it has been dissolved and mixed [with the earth.] So that we have not rashly believed the resurrection of the body; for although it be dissolved for a time on account of the original transgression, it exists still and is cast into the earth as into a potter's furnace, in order to be formed again not in order to rise again such as it was before, but in a state of purity, and so as never to be destroyed any more. And to every body shall its *own soul* be restored. And when it hath *clothed itself* with that body, it will not be subject to misery, but being itself pure, it will continue with its pure body and rejoice with it, with which it having walked righteously now in this world, and never having had it as a snare, it will receive it again with great gladness. But as for the unjust, they will receive their bodies not changed, not freed from diseases or distempers, nor made glorious but with the same diseases wherein they died; and such as they were in their unbelief, the same shall they be when they shall be faithfully judged.

6. For all men, the just as well as the unjust, shall be brought before *God the Word*; for to him hath the *Father committed all judgment*, and he in order to *fulfil the will of his father*, shall come as judge whom we call *Christ*. For Minos and Rhadamanthus are not the judges, as you Greeks do suppose, but he whom *God and the Father hath glorified*; CONCERNING WHOM WE HAVE ELSEWHERE GIVEN A MORE PARTICULAR ACCOUNT, FOR THE SAKE OF THOSE WHO SEEK AFTER TRUTH, This person exercising the righteous judgment of the Father towards all men, hath prepared a just sentence for every one, according to his works; at whose judgment-seat when all men, and angels, and demons shall stand, they will send forth one voice, and say, *JUST IS THY JUDGMENT*: the rejoinder to which will bring a just sentence upon both parties by giving justly to

those that have done well, an *everlasting fruition*; but allotting to the lovers of wicked works *eternal punishment*. To these belong the *unquenchable fire*, and that without end, and a certain fiery *worm never dying*, and not destroying the body, but continuing its eruption out of the body with never ceasing grief: neither will sleep give ease to these men, nor will the night afford them comfort; death will not free them from their punishment, nor will the interceding prayers of their kindred profit them; for the just are no longer seen by them, nor are they thought worthy of remembrance. But the just shall remember only their righteous actions, whereby they have attained the *heavenly kingdom*, in which there is no sleep, no sorrow, no corruption, no care, no night, no day measured by time, no sun driven in his course along the circle of heaven by necessity, and measuring out the bounds and conversions of the seasons, for the better illumination of the life of men; no moon decreasing and increasing, or introducing a variety of seasons, nor will she then moisten the earth; no burning sun, no Bear turning round [the pole,] no Orion to rise, no wandering of innumerable stars. The earth will not then be difficult to be passed over, nor will it be hard to find out the court of paradise, nor will there be any fearful roaring of the sea, forbidding the passengers to walk on it; even *that* will be made easily passable to the just, though it will not be void of moisture. Heaven will not then be uninhabitable by men, and it will not be impossible to discover the way of ascending thither. The earth will not then be uncultivated, nor require too much labour of men, but will bring forth its fruits of its own accord, and will be well adorned with them. There will be no more generations of wild beasts, nor will the substance of the rest of the animals shoot out any more; for it will not produce men, but the number of the righteous will continue, and never fail, together with righteous angels, and spirits [of God,] and with his word, as a choir, of righteous men and women that never grow old, and continue in an incorruptible state, singing hymns to God, who hath advanced them to that happiness, by the means of a regular institution of life; with whom the whole creation also will lift up a perpetual hymn from *corruption to incorruption*, as glorified by a splendid and pure spirit. It will not then be restrained by a bond of necessity, but with a lively freedom shall offer

up a voluntary hymn, and shall praise him that made them, together with the angels, and spirits, and men, now freed from all bondage.

7. And now, if you Gentiles will be persuaded by these motives, and leave your vain imaginations about your pedigrees, and gaining of riches, and philosophy, and will not spend your time about subtilities of words, and thereby lead your minds into error, and if you will apply your ears to the hearing of the inspired prophets, the interpreters, both of God and of his word, and will believe in God, you shall both be partakers of these things, and obtain the good things that are to come; you shall see the ascent unto the immense heaven plainly, and that kingdom which is there. For what God hath now concealed in silence [will be then made manifest,] *what neither eye hath seen, nor ear hath heard, nor hath it entered into the heart of man, the things that God hath prepared for them that love him.*

8. *In whatsoever ways I shall find you, in them shall I judge you entirely ;* so cries the END of all things. And he who hath at first lived a virtuous life, but towards the latter end falls into vice, these labours by him before endured, shall be altogether vain and unprofitable, even as in a play, brought to an ill catastrophe. Whosoever shall have lived wickedly and luxuriously may repent ; however, there will be need of much time to conquer an evil habit, and after repentance his whole life must be guarded with great care and diligence, after the manner of a body, which, after it hath been a long time afflicted with a distemper, requires a stricter diet and method of living : for though it may be possible, perhaps, to break off the chain of our irregular affections at once, yet our amendment cannot be secured without the grace of God, the prayers of good men, the help of the brethren, and our own sincere repentance, and constant care. It is a good thing not to sin at all, it is also good, having sinned, to repent ; as it is best to have health always, but it is a good thing to recover from a distemper. *to God be glory and dominion for ever and ever, Amen.*

END OF THE WRITINGS OF JOSEPHUS.





# I N D E X.

**N. B.** *The first number in order is that of the Book, the second of the Chapter, the third of the Section or Sections, and the last is that of the Volume, as exemplified in the first article.*

- AARON**, Antiq. B. 2 ch. 13 § 1 vol. 1. B. 20 ch. 10 vol. 5. is made high-priest, B. 3 ch. 8. § 1 vol. 1. his sons, *ib.* his death, B. 4 ch. 4 § 7. vol. 1.
- Abassar**, or **Sanabassar**, Antiq. 11 4 6 3.
- Abbarus**, king of the Tyrians, Against Apion, 1 21 6.
- Abdastartus**, king of the Tyrians, Against Apion, 1 § 18 6.
- Abdemon**, a Tyrian, Antiq. 8 5 3 2. Against Apion, 1 § 17, 18 6.
- Abdenago**, or **Abednego**, Antiq. 10 10 1 3.
- Abdon** succeeds **Elon** as judge, Antiq. 5 7 15 2.
- Abel**, Antiq. 1 2 1 1. his sacrifice, *ib.*
- Abnerig**, king of Charax Spasini, Antiq. 20 2 1 5.
- Abia**, or **Abijah**, the son of **Rehoboam**, Antiq. 7 10 3 2. 8 10 1 3. succeeds his father, § 4. conquers the ten tribes, 8 11 2, 3 3.
- Abia**, king of the Arabians, Antiq. 20 4 1 5.
- Abiathar**, the son of **Ahimelech**, Antiq. 6 12 6 3. saves his life, and flies to **David**, § 8. is high-priest, 6 14 6 3. and 7 5 4 3. and 9 2. and 11 8. and 14 4. is deprived of the high-priesthood, 8 1 3 3.
- Abibalus**, king of the Tyrians, Against Apion, 1 § 17 6.
- Abigail**, Antiq. 6 13 7 2. married to **David**, § 8.
- Abigail**, **Amasa's** mother, Antiq. 7 10 1 2.
- Abihu**, the son of **Aaron**, Antiq. 3 8 1 2.
- Abijah**, or **Abia**, the son of **Rehoboam**, Antiq. 7 10 3 2. and 8 10 1 2. succeeds his father, § 4. conquers the ten tribes, 8 11 2 3 2.
- Abilamaradocus**, or **Evil-Merodach**, Antiq. 10 11 2 3.
- Abimael**, Antiq. 1 6 4 1.
- Ahimelech**, tyrannizes over the **Shechemites**, Antiq. 5 7 1 2 is expelled, § 3. he destroys them all, § 4. is killed by a piece of a mill-stone, § 5.
- Abinabab**, Antiq. 6 1 4 2. 8 2 3 2.
- Ahiram**, Antiq. 4 2 2 1.
- Abishag**, a virgin, **David's** nurse, Antiq. 7 14 3 2.
- Abishai**, Antiq. 6 13 9 2.
- Abner**, Antiq. 7 1 4 2. son of **Ner**, ch. 13 § 1. **Saul's** kinsman, 6 4 3 2. general of his army, 7 1 3 2. reconciles the Israelites to **David**, 7 1 4 2. is killed, § 5.
- Abram**, or **Abraham**, the son of **Terah**, Antiq. 1 6 5 1 leaves **Chaldea**, and goes to **Canaan**, c. 7 § 1. lives at **Damascus**, § 2 advises his son to plant colonies, c. 15. instructs the Egyptians in the mathematical sciences, c. 8 § 2. divides the country between himself and **Lot**, § 3, **God** promises him a son, c. 10. § 3, he beats the Assyrians, c. 10. dies, c. 17.
- Abalom**, Antiq. 7 3 3 2. flies to **Geshur**, c. 8. § 3. is recalled by a stratagem

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- of Job's, § 4, 5. rebels against David, 79. pursues after him, c. 10 § 7. his army is put to flight, § 2. hangs on a tree by his hair, *ib.* is stabbed by Joth, and dies, *ib.*
- Aencheres, king of Egypt, Against Apion, 1 § 15 6.
- Aenches queen of Egypt, *ib.*
- Achar, or Achan is guilty of theft, Antiq. 51 102. is punished, § 11.
- Achitophel, or Abitophel, Absalom's favourite, Antiq. 79 22. gives evil counsel, § 5. hangs himself, 8.
- Achoniui, Antiq. 11 543.
- Acme, War, 132 65. her letters to Antipater and Herod, Antiq. 175 74. her death, ch. 7.
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- Acrathens, or Hatach, Antiq. 11673.
- Actium, battle at, Antiq. 155 14. and 61. War, 119 15. in the seventh year of Herod's reign, Antiq. 155 24.
- Ada, the wife of Lamech, Antiq. 122 1.
- Adad, a king of Damascus, Antiq. 752 &c. 2.
- Adam created, Antiq. 1121. his fall, *ib.*
- Ader, or Hadad, an Idumean, Antiq. 8762.
- Adonius, or Adonijah, pretends to the crown, Antiq. 714 42. takes sanctuary at the altar, s. 6, 9, demands Abishag to wife, 811, 22. is refused s. 3.
- Adoniobesek, king of Jerusalem, Antiq. 5222 is made prisoner, and has his hands and feet cut off, and dies at Jerusalem, *ib.*
- Adoram, Antiq. 7542. and 8292.
- Adrammelech, Antiq. 10153.
- Adrasar, or Hadadezer, king of Sophene, or Zoba, Antiq. 25118761.
- Aebutus, a decurion, Life, s. 244.
- Egypt, named from a king, Against Apion, 1 s. 156.
- Egyptian kings called Pharaohs for 1300 years, till the reign of Solomon, Antiq. 7622.
- Egyptians famous before all other nations for wisdom, Antiq. 8252 learned mathematics of Abraham, Antiq. 1821. their sacred scribes or priests, 2921, they held it unlawful to feed cattle, 2751.
- Egyptians false prophet put to flight by Felix, Antiq. 20865. War, 21351.
- Elius Gallus, Antiq. 15934.
- Emilius Regulus, Antiq. 19135.
- Æneas, surnamed Aretas, succeeds Obodas in Arabia, Antiq. 16944.
- Esopus, a servant, Antiq. 15324.
- Ethiopian commodities were slaves and monkeys, Antiq. 865, &c. and 722.
- Ethiopians bordering on the Arabians, Antiq. 9533.
- Agag, king of the Anti Amalekites, 6722. is killed, s. 5.
- Agar, or Hagar, and Ishmael, are sent away by Abraham, Antiq. 11331.
- Aggeus, or Haggai, the prophet, Antiq. 1145, 73. he prophesies at the rebuilding of the temple *ib.*
- Agones, or games every fifth year, in honour of Cæsar, instituted by Herod, Antiq. 16814. War, 12185. at the finishing Cæsarea, Antiq. 16514.
- Agrippa (Marcus the Roman's) bounty towards the Jews, Antiq. 12323 is splendidly entertained by Herod, 16214. makes equal returns to him at Synope, s. 2. his expedition to the Bosphorus, *ib.* his speech to the Jews at Jerusalem, War, 2163, 45. he confirms their privileges Antiq. 16254. his letter to the Ephesians, in favour of the Jews, c. 6 s. 4. and to those of Cyrene, s. 5.
- Agrippa the Great, or Elder, Herod's grandson, Antiq. 17234. and 18545.

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- War, 1 28 1 6. his various adventures, Antiq. 18 5 5. &c. 4. is manacled and imprisoned, c. 6 s. 6. his future liberty and happiness foretold, s. 7. is released, and made lord of two tetrarchies, with the title of king, s. 10. gives Caius a sumptuous entertainment at Rome, c. 18 s. 7 is sent by the senate to Claudius, 19 4 1, 2 5. his advice to Claudius, *ib.* &c. is sent back to the kingdom, c. 6 s. 1. Claudius bestows on him almost all the dominions of his grandfather, c. 5 s. 1. his eulogium, c. 7 s. 3. his bounty towards those of Berytus, s. 5. he treats several kings splendidly, c. 8 s. 1. entertains Casarea with shews, and appears himself upon a stage in a magnificent dress, and is applauded as a god, s. 2. dies soon after an unnatural death, *ib.* his death and children, War. 2 11 5, 6 6.
- Agrippa, his son by Cypros, War, 2 11 6 6. did not immediately succeed in his father's kingdom, Antiq. 19 9 2 5. Claudius gave him that of uncle Herod [of Chalcis,] 20 5 2 5. War, 2 12 1 6. to which he added the tetrarchies of Philip and Lysanias, c. 7 s. 1. he is hurt by a sling stone, at the siege of Gamala, 4 1 3 5. his letters to Josephus, Life s. 6 4. 4 his famous speech to the Jews, to dissuade them from a war with the Romans, War, 2 16. 4, 5 6.
- Agrippa, son of Felix and Drusilla, Antiq. 20 7 2 5.
- Agrippa Fonteius slain, War, 7 4 3 7.
- Ahab, king of Israel, Antiq. 8 13 1 2. is reproved by Elijah, s. 8. fights with Benhadad, and beats him, c. 14 s. 1, &c. pardons him, s. 4. is afterwards himself killed by the Syrians, c. 15 s. 5. his sons, 9 6 5 3.
- Ahaz, king of Judah, 9 12 2 3.
- Ahaziah, his son, Antiq. 8 15 6 2, and 9 2 2 c. 6 s. 3 2.
- Ahaziah, king of Judah, Antiq. 9 6 3 3.
- Ahijah, the prophet, Antiq. 8 7 7 2. his prophecy, 10 4 4 3.
- Ahikam, Antiq. 10 9 1 3.
- Ahimaaz, the son of Zadok, Antiq. 8 9 2. c. 10 s. 4, 5. high-priest, 10 8 6 3.
- Ahimelech, or Achimelech the priest, or high-priest, slain by the order of Saul, Antiq. 6 13 4, &c. 2.
- Ahitub, Antiq. 8 1 3 2.
- Ahitophel, or Achitophel, Antiq. 7 9 2 2. gives evil counsel, s. 6. hangs himself, s. 8.
- Ai besieged, Antiq. 5 1 12 2 taken, s. 15.
- Aizel, or Uzal, Antiq. 1 6 4 1.
- Alans, War, 7 7 4 7.
- Albinus, procurator of Judea, Antiq. 20 9 1 5.
- Alcimus, or Jacimus, the wicked high-priest, Antiq. 12 9 7 3. calumniates Judas before Demetrius, c. 10 s. 1. dies, s. 6.
- Alcyon, a physician, Antiq. 19 1 20 5.
- Alexander Lysimachus the alabarch, Antiq. 18 5. 3 4. and 19 5 1 5 and 20 5 2 5.
- Alexander, the son of Alexander, by Glaphyra, War, 1 28 1 6.
- Alexander, the son of Antiochus Epiphanes, Antiq. 13 2 1 4. surnamed Bala, *ib.* in note, king of Syria, s. 2. his letter to Jonathan, *ib.* engages in a battle with Demetrius, s. 4. demands Ptolemy Philometor's daughter in marriage, c. 4 s. 1. is killed in Arabia, and his head sent to Ptolemy, s. 8.
- Alexander and Aristobulus, Herod's sons, put in prison, Antiq. 16 10 5 4. strangled by their father's order, c. 10 is. 6 War, 1 27 6 6.
- Alexander, the son of Aristobulus, Antiq. 14 4 5 4. War, 1 8 7 6. troubles Syria, Antiq. 14 6 2 3. makes war upon the Romans, War, 1 8 5 6. is conquered by Gabinus, *ib.* killed by Pompey's order, Antiq. 14 7 4 3 War, 1 9 2 6.
- Alexander Janneus succeeds his brother Aristobulus, War, 1 4 1 6 a sedition raised against him, Antiq. 13 14 3. &c. 3. his expedition against



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- Ptolemais**, c. 13 s. 2. he is called Thracidas, for his barbarous cruelty, c. 14 s. 2. dies of a quartan ague, after three years sickness, c. 15 s. 5  
**War**, 1486 his sons Hyrcanus and Aristobulus, Antiq. 13 16 14 War; 15 16.
- Alexander** the great succeeds his father Philip, Antiq. 11 8 13 conquers Darius, s. 3. pursues his victories through Asia, *ib.* &c. sends a letter to the high priest at Jerusalem, *ib.* goes himself to Jerusalem, s. 5. his dream, *ib.* he adores the name of God on the high-priest's forehead, *ib.* enters the temple, *ib.* grants privileges to the Jews, *ib.* the Pamphylian sea gives way to his army, Antiq. 2 16 5 1 his arms and armour kept in the temple of Diana, at Elymais, 129 13. his empire divided after his death, c. 1.
- Alexander**, son of Phasaelus and Salampsio, Antiq. 18 5 4 5.
- Alexander** (Tiberius) succeeds Cuspius Fadus as procurator of Judea, Antiq. 20 5 2 5. War, 2 11 6 6. is made procurator of Egypt, 2 15 1 6. c. 18 s. 7 is made chief commander of the Roman army under Vespasian, 4 10 6 6. and 6 4 3 6.
- Alexander Zebus**, king of Syria, is conquered by Antiochus Grypus and dies, Antiq. 13 9 3 3.
- Alexandria**, Alexander Jannæus' widow, holds the administration after his death, Antiq. 13 16 1 3. falls sick and dies, s. 5, 6. her eulogium, *ib.*
- Alexandra**, daughter of Hyrcanus, wife of Alexander, the son of Aristobulus, Hyrcanus' brother, and mother of another Aristobulus and Mariamne, Antiq. 15 25 4. writes a letter to Cleopatra, *ib.* sends the pictures of her son and daughter to Antopius, by the advice of Dellius, s. 6. is feignedly reconciled to Herod, s. 7. is suspected by Herod, c. 3 s. 2. prepares to fly into Egypt, *ib.* bemoans the death of Aristobulus, s. 4 acquaints Cleopatra with the snares of Herod, and the death of her son, s. 6. is put into prison, s. 9. her indecent behaviour towards her daughter Mariamne, c. 7 s. 4. is killed by Herod's order, s. 8.
- Alexandra**, daughter of Phasaelus and Salampsio, Antiq. 18 5 4 5. is married to Timius Cyprius, *ib.*
- Alexandria's** causeway to the isle Pharos seven furlongs long, Antiq. 12 2 12 3. a great part of that city assigned to the Jews, 14 7 2 3. the Jews declared its citizens, on a brazen pillar, by Julius Cæsar, c. 10 s. 1, 2.
- Alexas**, Salome's husband, Antiq. 17 1 1 4. War, 1 28 6 6.
- Alexas Selcius**, Alexas' son, Antiq. 18 5 4 5.
- Alisphragmuthosis**, or Halisphragmuthosis, king of Egypt, Against Apion, 1 s. 14 6.
- Aliturus**, a Jew, Life, s. 34.
- Alliance** between Ptolemy and Antiochus, Antiq. 12 4 1 3.
- Altar of incense**, Antiq. 5 6 8 1. of burnt-offering made of unhewn stone, War, 5 56 6. against Apion, 1 s. 22 6.
- Amedatha**, or Hammadetha, *Antiquities*, 11 6 5, 12 3.
- Amalekites** attack the Israelites, *Antiquities*, 3 2 1 1. are conquered and plundered, s. 4, 5.
- Aman**, or Haman, the enemy of the Jews, *Antiquities*, 11 6 5 3. his edict against the Jews, s. 6. orders a gallows to be erected for Mordecai, s. 10. is obliged to honour Mordecai, *ib.* his malicious design laid before the king, s. 11. his edict countermanded, s. 12. he is himself hanged on the gallows, s. 13.
- Amarius**, or Omri, king of the Israelites, *Antiquities*, 8 12 5 2.
- Amasa**, general of the army, *Antiquities*, 7 10 1 2. and 11 1. the son of Jether, c. 15 s. 1 killed by Joab, *ib.* c. 11 s. 7.
- Amasias** or Amaziah, king of Judah, *Antiquities* 9 8 4 3. c. 9 s. 1. makes war on Jehoshaphat king of Israel s. 3. is beaten *ib.* and murdered in a conspiracy, *ib.*
- Amasius**, or Manseiah, king Ahaz's son, slain in battle, *Antiquities*, 9 12 1 3.

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- Atanasias, or Mnaseiah, governor of the city, *Antiquities* 10 4 1 3.**  
**Amathrius, *Antiquities*, 1 6 2 1.**  
**Ambassadors sent with presents to Hezekiah, *Antiquities*, 10 2 2 3. ambassadors of the Jews slain by the Arabs, 15 5 2 4. this a violation of the law of nations, s. 3 c. 7 s. 9. ambassadors had a right to sit among the Roman senators in the theatre, 14 10 6 3.**  
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**Amnon, David's son, *Antiquities*, 7 3 3 2. falls in love with his sister Tamar, c. 8 s. 1. is slain by Absalom's order, s. 2.**  
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**Ananias, the son of Masambalus, high-priest, War, 5 13 1 7.**  
**Ananus, senior, made high-priest *Antiquities*, 20 9 1 5. his eulogium, War, 4 3 7 6.**  
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**Ananus, governor of the temple, *Antiquities*, 20 6 2 5.**  
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- Annus (Lucius) takes Gerasa, War, 49 1 6.**  
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- Antipater, the Idumean, Herod's father, called Antipas, excites troubles, *Antiquities*, 14 1 3 3. is sent ambassador to Aretas, by Scaurus, c. 5 s. 1 his wife Cyprus, the Arabian, and his children, c. 7 s. 3 his valour, c. 8 s. 1, he advises Hyrcanus to put himself under the protection of Aretas, War, 1 6 2 6. makes his son Phasaelus governor of Jerusalem, and Herod of Galilee, *Antiquities*, 14 9 2 3 War, 1 10 4 6. endeavours to deserve Cæsar's favour, c. 8 s. 1 and 1 9 3 6. is honoured by Cæsar, and made citizen of Rome, *Antiquities*, 14 8 3 3 War, 1 9 5 6. his defence against Antigonus, *Antiquities*, 14 8 4 3 War, 1 10 2 6. is made governor of Judea, *Antiquities*, 14 8 5 3 War, 1 10 3 6. is greatly esteemed among the Jews, *Antiquities*, 14 9 2 3, is poisoned, c. 11 s. 4 War, 1 11 4 6.
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- Nicaule, or Nitocris, queen of Egypt, Antiq 8 vi 2 ii.  
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- Pacorus, king of Media, Antiq 20 iii 3 v redeems his wife and concubines from the Alans, War, 7 vii 4 vii.

- Pacorus**, the king of Parthia's son, gets possession of Syria, Antiq 14 xiii 3 iii lays a plot to catch Hyrcanus and Phasaclus, s 5. marches against the Jews, War, 1 xiii 1 vi is admitted into Jerusalem, s 3 is slain in battle, Antiq 14 xv 7 iii.
- Paelus**, (Caesennius,) president of Syria, War, 7 vii 1 vii his expedition into Commagena, *ib*.
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- Palm trees** at Jericho, very famous, Antiq 9 i 2 iii and 14 iv 1 iii War, 1 vi 6 vi and 4 viii 3.
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- Parthians** possess themselves of Syria, and endeavour to settle Antigonus in Judea, War, 1 xiii 1, &c vi their expedition into Judea, Antiq 14 xiii 3 iii they besiege Jerusalem, *ib* they take the city and temple, s 4 their perfidiousness, s 4, 6 War, 1 xiii 3, &c vi.
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- Paulinus**, a tribune, War, 3 viii 1 vi.
- Paulinus** succeeds Lupus as governor of Alexandria, War, 7 x 4 vii he plunders and shuts up the temple Onion, *ib*.
- Pausanias**, son of Cerastes, murders Philip, the king of Macedon, Antiq 1 viii 1 i.
- Peace** and good laws the greatest blessings, Antiq 7 xiv 2 ii.
- Peace**, as a goddess, has a temple at Rome, War, 7 v 7 vii ch vi s 24.
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- Pekah** slays Pekabiah, and succeeds him, Antiq 9 xi 1 iii he defeats the king of Judah, ch xli s 1 he is slain by Hoshea, ch xiii s 1.
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- Pentecost**, a Jewish festival, Antiq 3 x 6 i and 17 x 2 iv whence it had that name, War, 2 iii 1 vi vast numbers came to it, *ib* the priests then attended the temple in the night, 6 v 3 vii the Jews did not then take journeys, Antiq 13 viii 4 iii.
- Perea**, entirely subdued by the Romans, War, 4 vii 5 vi.
- Pergamen's** decree in favour of the Jews, Antiq 14 x 22 iii.
- Perjury**, supposed by some not dangerous, if done by necessity, Antiq 5 ii 12 ii dreaded by Joshua and the elders, ch i s 16 dreaded also by the people, ch iii s 12.
- Persians**, their seven principal families, Antiq 11 ii 1 iii their king is watched during his sleep, s 4 their law forbade strangers to see their king's wives, ch vi s 1 seven men were the interpreters, of their laws, *ib* their royal robes, s 9.
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- Pestilius Cerealis**, the proconsul, reduces the Germans, War, 7 iv 2 vii.
- Petina**, the wife of Claudius, Antiq 20 viii 1 v War, 2 xii 8 vi.
- Petronius**, governor of Egypt, Antiq 15 ix 2 iv he supplies Herod with corn in time of famine, *ib*.
- Petronius**, (Publius,) is made president of Syria, Antiq 18 viii 2 v is sent with an army to Jerusalem by Caius, to set up his statue in the temple, ch i. s 2 &c War, 2 x 1 vi his endeavours to prevent it, and to save the Jews, with his and their wonderful deliverance, *ib* his edict against the Dorites, Antiq 19 vi 3 v.
- Phaedra**, Herod's wife, Antiq 17 i 3 iv.
- Phalhan**, Antipater's brother, Antiq 14 ii 3 iii War 1 vi 3 vi.
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- Phannias** son of Samuel, made high-priest, War, 4 iii 8 vi.
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- Pharisees**, a sect among the Jews, Antiq 13 x 5 iii and 18 i 2 v War, 1 v 2 vi they envy Hyrcanus, Antiq 13 x 5 iii were opposite to the Sadducees in their principles, s 6 their great authority, 17 ii 4 iv especially in the reign of queen Alexandra, 13 xvi 3

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- Phleas, king of the Tyrians, against Apion, 1 s 18 vi.
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- Pheroras's wife pays the fine laid upon the Pharisees, Antiq 17 ii 4 iv she associates with other court ladies, *ib* War, 1 xxix 1 vi Pheroras's freed-men charge her with getting poison, Antiq 17 iv 1 iv she throws herself down stairs, s 2 War, 1 xxx 5 vi her confession, Antiq 17 iv 2 iv.
- Phideas, the high-priest, Antiq 10 viii 6 iii.
- Philadelphus, (Ptolemy) his skill and industry about mechanic arts, Antiq 13 ii 7 iii he proposes problems to the seventy-two interpreters, s 11 he procures the seventy-two interpreters to translate the law, ch ii s 1-14.
- Philip, Herod's son by Cleopatra, Antiq 17 i 3 iv ch ii s 2 ch iv s 3 War, 1 ch xxviii 4 vi ch xxxii s 1 brother of Archelaus, 2 vi 3 v what Herod left him by his will, Antiq 17 viii 1 iv what Caesar gave him, ch xi s 4 tetrarch of Gaulanitis, and Trachonitis, and Peneas, ch viii s 1 ch ix s 1 he dies, 18 iv 6 iv his eulogium, *ib*.
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- Philip made regent of Syria during the minority of Eupator, Antiq 12 ix 2 iii.
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- Philip, king of Macedonia, is slain, Antiq 11 viii 1 iii.
- Philippion, son of Ptolemy, marries Alexandra, the daughter of Aristobulus, Antiq 14 vii 4 iii he is killed by his father, *ib* War, 1 ix 2 vi.
- Phlistines, their chief towns Gaza, Accaron, or Ekron, Askelon, Gath, and Azotus, or Ashdod, Antiq 6 i 2 ii ch xiii s 10.
- Philo, chief deputy of the Jews to Caius, Antiq 17 viii 1 iv.
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- Phul, or Pul, king of Assyria, Antiq 9 xi 1 iii.
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- Phut, the planter of Libya, Antiq 1 vi 2 i.
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- Primus, (Antonius,) War, 4 ix 2 vi he marches against Vitellius, ch. xi s 2.
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- Prudence requires us to prevent the growing power of an enemy, Antiq 3 ii 1 i.
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- Ptolemy**, the brother of Nicolaus of Damascus, Antiq. 16 ix 3 v.
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- Ptolemy**, the son of Janablicus, Antiq. 14 viii 1 iii War, 1 ix 3 vi.
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- Ptolemy son of Lagus**, called Soter, obtains Egypt, after the death of Alexander, the Great, Antiq. 12 i iii takes Jerusalem, and carries many Jews into Egypt, *ib.*
- Ptolemy Philadelphus**, the second king of Egypt of that race. Antiq. 1 Pref. s 3 i Antiq. 12 ii 1 iii against Apion, 2 s 4 vi he procures a translation of the law of Moses, by the advice of Demetrius Phalerens, Antiq. 12 ii 1, &c. iii sets a vast number of Jews free, s 3 sends a letter to Eleazar the high-priest, s 4 his liberal oblations and presents, s 7 14.
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- Ptolemy**, son of Menius, Antiq. 13 xvi 3 iii and 14 iii 2 iii ch xii s 1 War, 1 iv s 8 vi ch xiii s 1 prince of Chalcis. Antiq. 14 vii 3 iii he marries Alexandra, *ib.*
- Ptolemy**, the murderer of Simon, the Maccabce, Antiq. 13 vii 4 iii he murders John Hyrcanus's mother, and brother, ch viii s 1 War, 1 ii 4 vi.
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- Ptolemy the Si. th.** War, 1 i 1 vi.
- Pudens** engages in a duel with Jonathan, and is killed, War. 6 ii 10 vii.
- Punishments of the wicked**, a joyful sight to good men. Antiq. 9 vi 6 iii.
- Purple robes worn by the Chaldean kings**, Antiq. 10 xi 2 iii by the Persian kings, 11 iii 2 iii ch iv s 10 Joseph is clothed in purple by Pharaoh, 2 v 7 i.
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- Quadratus**, (Ummidius), president of Syria, Antiq. 20 vi 2 v.
- Quaish** are numerous in the Arabian gulf, and fall upon the camp of Israel, Antiq. 3 i s 13 i.
- Queen of Egypt and Ethiopia**, comes to king Solomon, Antiq. 8 vi 5 ii she returns to her own country. s 6.
- Quintilius Varus**, president of Syria. See Varus.
- Quirinus**, or Cyrenius, sent by Caesar to take Syria, Antiq. 17 xii iv.

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- Rabsaces**, (Themastus), Antiq. 11 iii 5-iii.
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- Ramesses**, king of Egypt, against Apion, 1 s 15 vi.
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- Rationale**, or breast-plate of judgment of the high-priest, Antiq. 3 vii 5 1 ch viii s. 9.
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- s 2 ten tribes revolt from him, s 3 he builds and fortifies several towns, ch x s 1 he has eighteen wives, and thirty concubines, *ib* he dies, s 4.  
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THE END.

















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